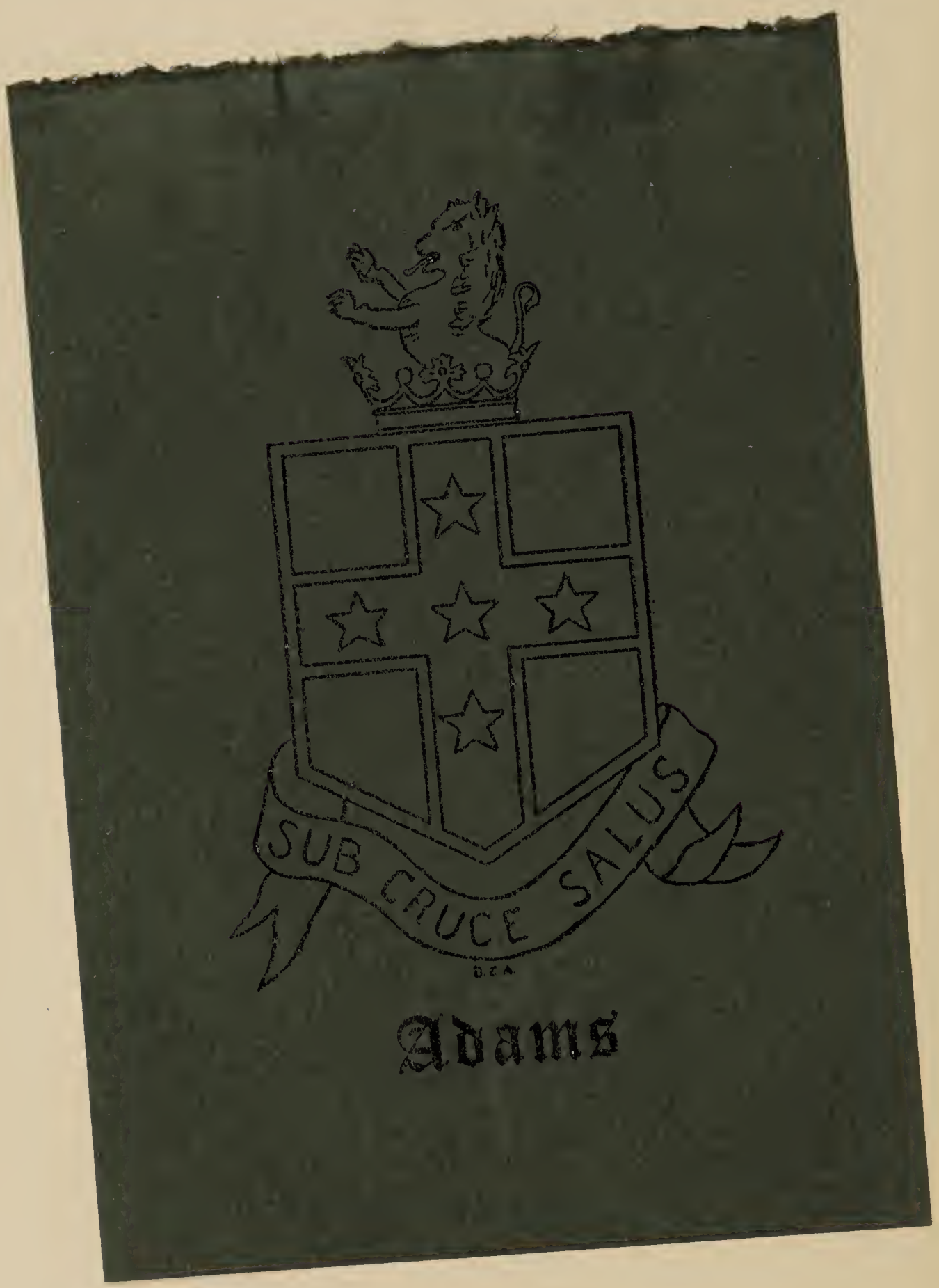
Trinity Church in the City of Boston

1733–1933



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TRINITY CHURCH

Trinity Church

IN THE CITY OF BOSTON

MASSACHUSETTS

1733–1933

Boston

PRINTED FOR THE WARDENS & VESTRY

OF TRINITY CHURCH

1933

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Foreword

THIS two-hundredth anniversary history is prepared and published by the wardens and vestry of Trinity Church on behalf of the parishioners. It is not a guidebook of windows, tablets, and furnishings of the church. Such a book may be had at the church. It is not planned to be a chronicle of events in strict sequence and detail, but rather to be a sketch, with selected details, of such moderate size and cost that it may be owned and read by all parishioners. The hope is that by its publication an interesting picture of a notable parish life may quicken the zeal of the many who care for Trinity Church to make it, in their day, even more than in the past, a great Christian fellowship for spiritual growth and effective service.

The wardens and vestry are grateful to Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike of The Merrymount Press for his many services as printer of this book.

Boston, Massachusetts
October 17, 1933

ERRATA

Page 9, lines 5 and 6, for "Another grandfather was a chief justice of Massachusetts" *read* "The father and a grandfather of his wife, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., and Benjamin Lynde, Sr., of Salem, were both chief justices of Massachusetts."

Page 11, lines 26 and 27, for "Charles Henry Parker, grandson of the fourth rector and long a leading vestryman and warden" *read* "Mr. Parker, in the presence, happily, of his grandson, Charles Henry Parker, long the senior warden."

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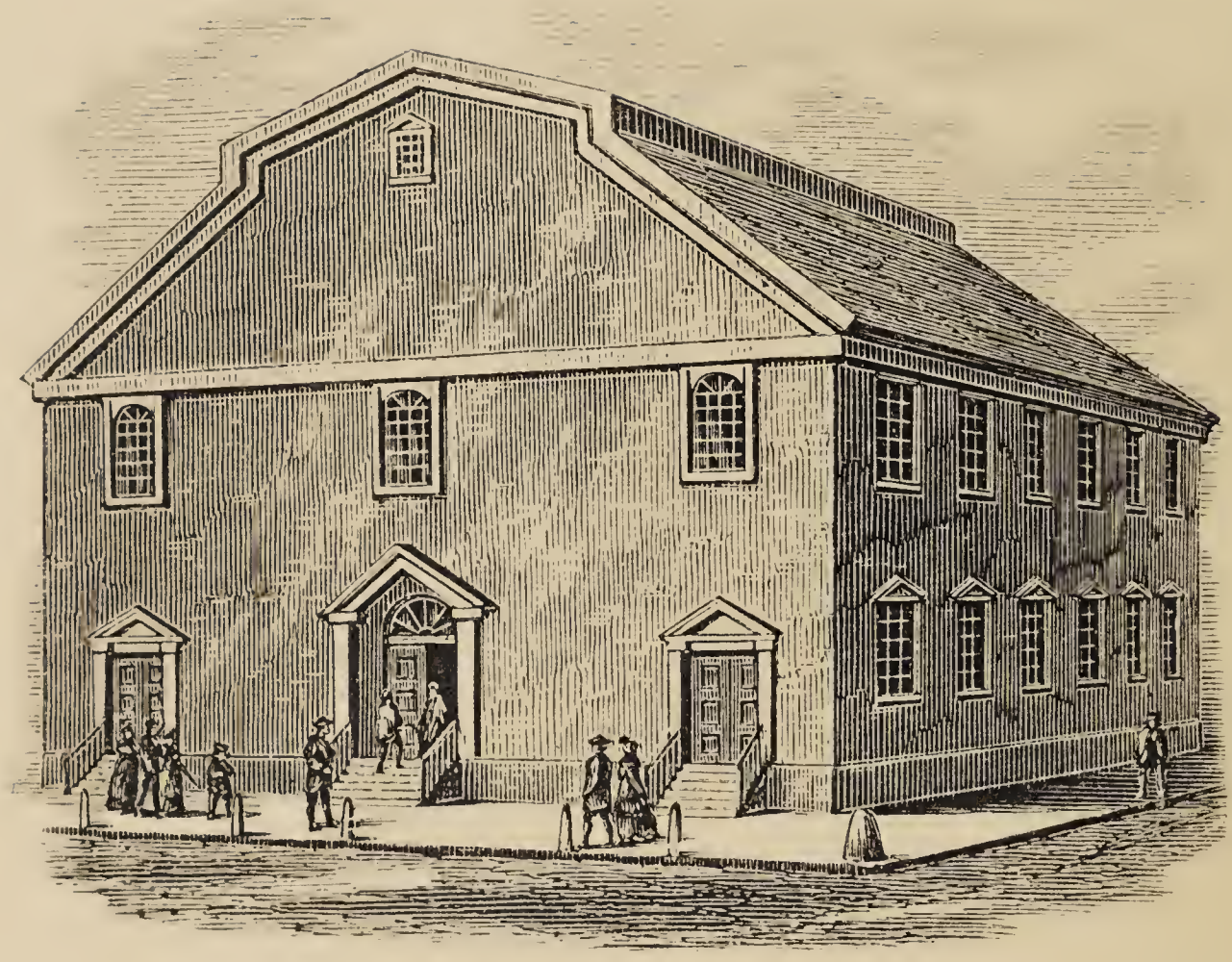
I

THE BEGINNINGS

BY JEFFREY RICHARDSON BRACKETT, PH.D.

Clerk of Trinity Church



TRINITY CHURCH, SUMMER STREET

First Church, opened for worship in 1735

The Beginnings*

ON October 17, 1733, fourteen men of Boston met at Luke Verdy's tavern, being a majority of those persons who had subscribed money to buy land on Summer Street and to build thereon an Episcopal church. They formally organized, and chose four trustees who were also to be a building committee to erect a church forthwith—Peter Luce, Thomas Child, Thomas Greene, and William Price; and Leonard Vassall was chosen treasurer. Eighteen persons then pledged a total of £1,750 to the building committee. William Speakman led with £200; fourteen, including Vassall, Greene, and Price, gave £100 each; and three gave £50 each.

Vassall had acquired title to the lot of land on Summer Street in 1728, and had conveyed it, two years later, to Speakman, John Barns, and John Gibbins, who were to endeavor to procure the erection of a church on it, within five years and five months. A subscription list of some twenty persons then totalled over £400. But that was not enough to pay for the land. If the land was not paid for and the church built within the time fixed, the money subscribed would be returned and Vassall might buy back the land. Although the oldest book used for records of Trinity Church was evidently made ready by an enthusiastic individual as early as 1730, with a copy therein of the deed of 1728, yet the year 1733 was the real beginning of an organized parish with continuous life. The subscribers at that time were prospective proprietors, for their subscriptions were to be paid back in pews, as much as possible. The trustees or building committee not only began forthwith to build the church edifice, but continued to administer the business affairs of Trinity Church for six years, until after the first wardens and vestry were elected. This building

*The writer of this chapter is indebted for helpful suggestions to his associates of the special committee of the wardens and vestry on the parish history—the rector, Robert Treat Paine, Alexander Whiteside, Judge Marcus Morton—and to Professor Samuel Eliot Morison of Trinity Church.

committee was expected for a time to meet weekly, in the evening, at the "Golden Ball." In order to stimulate attendance, a plan was tried of charging the "reckoning" of those who came to those who did not attend—but the plan is said not to have worked!

The chief builder chosen was one John Indecott. That autumn or early winter of 1733, there was a "raising" dinner, to celebrate the framing of the edifice. The only detail of the dinner known is that £60 was appropriated for it. About that time, there were large payments by the treasurer "for rum, sugar, molasses and goods"—but the contractors were to be paid for their services partly with "goods."

When the first service was held in the church, August 15, 1735, there was another dinner. The guests invited included the governor and the lieutenant-governor, the captain of a British man-of-war then in port, the few Episcopal ministers in town, all those persons who had given or lent money to the church, and the three head carpenters. The cost of the dinner to the church seems to have been only £20.

The church was still unfinished within and lacked much necessary equipment. Gallery pews were built in 1741; an organ, purchased in London, was installed in 1744, at a cost of £382. A pulpit was built, and a vestry room added. A bell taken at the capture of Quebec was bought and put up in 1759. There were gifts of Communion plate and furnishings from the King through the governor. Gifts for equipment and for maintenance were sought in England, with only partial success. The church was in debt, chiefly to the Episcopal Charitable Society, King's Chapel, and Speakman.

For a time the clergy of King's Chapel supplied the ministry. The first celebration of "the Holy Sacrement of the Lord's Super" took place on Trinity Sunday, 1739, the number of communicants being about forty.

Peter Luce and Thomas Greene were chosen in 1737 to act as wardens, but the regular elections of wardens and ves-

trymen began at Easter, 1739. William Speakman was then chosen senior warden. By occupation he was a baker. He had been a warden in King's Chapel, and after holding this office in Trinity for several years, resigned it to become again a warden at the Chapel. The junior warden was Joseph Dowse, a merchant. The thirteen vestrymen were by occupation seven merchants, two distillers, a wine-cooper, a goldsmith, an apothecary, a tailor.

There were many ties between Trinity Church and King's Chapel, and some with Christ Church. Speakman, Price, Greene, and a few others, like-minded Churchmen, must have formed an unlabelled Episcopalian club of that day.*

In New England, the established Church was the Congregational. The societies were generally supported from the local tax rates. The few struggling Anglican churches, often called Episcopal, were started as missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. That society, after some tentative beginnings, was formally organized, in England, in 1701. It placed and supported most of the Episcopal clergy in New England and they often reported to it. There were two exceptions in Boston, King's Chapel and Trinity Church.

When Trinity Church was established there were two Anglican or Episcopal societies in Boston. The position of King's Chapel, opened in 1689, was unique.* For it was the place of worship which was designated as being under the special interest and patronage of the ruling sovereign. When King William or one of the Georges reigned, it was King's Chapel; when Anne reigned, it was Queen's Chapel. Its assistant ministers were at times maintained by royal grant. The congregation was often spoken of as "the representatives of the Royal Chapel."

The authority of the Bishops of London over the colonial churches is a question not pertinent here beyond the one fact

* *Annals of King's Chapel*, the Rev. Henry W. Foote, D.D., 2 vols., Boston, 1882, 1896.

that while Dr. Gibson was bishop he named the Rev. Roger Price, the minister of King's Chapel, Boston, to be commissary or overseer of the other Episcopal churches in New England. The two interesting points are that Mr. Price had already been chosen minister by vote of the congregation; but that, for the form of induction, the officers of the Chapel allowed Mr. Price to lock them out and himself within the building and then to open the door and admit them.

The minister of Christ Church, from its opening in 1723 to 1765, was the Rev. Timothy Cutler, formerly a Congregationalist and rector of Yale College. He became a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and was licensed by the Bishop of London. He reported to the Society frequently. He had no formal induction. He secured from the congregation some regular support for himself and additions to the church structure and equipment. But a later historian of Christ Church, the Rev. Henry Burroughs, says that it depended during colonial times on financial aid from England.*

Trinity Church at first tried to get financial aid from England, but got very little. Mr. Commissary Price, who was a difficult person, urged the London Society not to give to Trinity, for it neither needed nor deserved aid. That was fortunate, perhaps, in putting the church on its own feet financially. While it was Anglican in worship and discipline, its form of government was Congregational. It was an association of proprietors of pews. Those proprietors alone decided the choice of a minister and important matters of church administration. The rules adopted by the proprietors and agreed to by each minister provided that the assent of the proprietors, as well as that of the minister, was necessary to a choice of any assistant minister, and that the minister should be notified of vestry meetings. During most of Trinity Church his-

* *History of the American Episcopal Church*, the Rt. Rev. William S. Perry, D.D., Boston, 1885.

tory, the senior warden has presided at meetings of the wardens and vestry and of the proprietors.*

The old ceremony of "induction" of a clergyman to be the rector of Trinity was used even as late as the coming of Dr. Gardiner, in 1805, long after the church formed a part of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. The minister was inducted into his office "in the usual Form in the Body of the church, by the Senior Warden taking him by the hand, a quorum of the Vestry being present, and speaking for the proprietors who are the patrons."

The religious society of Trinity Church, Boston, thrown on its own financial resources, free in choice of and contract with its clergy, familiar with the Congregational spirit in church government, was an early expression of New England people themselves for forming an Anglican church!

In the year 1735, the proprietors called to be their minister the Rev. Arthur Browne, who had been at King's Chapel (later named St. John's Church) in Providence, Rhode Island, since 1729. He was evidently a promising man, of thirty-six years, but he declined the call. He soon accepted a call to St. John's Church, Portsmouth, the only Episcopal church in New Hampshire, and remained there many years. In 1737 the Rev. Addington Davenport, an assistant at King's Chapel, was called and in 1740 he came as first rector of Trinity. He and his early successors are spoken of briefly in the historical sermon by Mr. Brooks, of 1877, which forms the next chapter of this volume. Interesting details of them may be found in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*† and in Bishop Perry's *Historical Collections*.§ The latter gives vividly, in letters from

* The Rev. Jonathan M. Wainwright, during his brief term as rector, 1833–1838, presided at meetings of the wardens and vestry, as was the custom in most dioceses of the United States.

† By William B. Sprague, D.D., New York, 1861.

§ *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, edited by William S. Perry, D.D., Hartford, 1873; Vol. III, "Massachusetts." See also letters of the Rev. Samuel Parker in *The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Eastern Diocese*, C. R. Batchelder, Boston, 1910.

Church of England missionaries, the weakness of the Episcopal missions in Massachusetts. Mr. Davenport was graduated from Harvard College in 1719. He had ministered at Scituate, with some seventy-five parishioners, most of them living there and at Hanover, for three years. When he left Scituate he gave seven acres and his house there for the support of the parish, St. Andrew's, later located at Hanover. He had had a hard time, largely because Episcopalians were regarded by the Congregationalists as apostates and subverters of the peace. Two of his wardens had been put in prison, so he wrote, for not paying rates to the town Congregational Church. Life in Boston at King's Chapel and Trinity must have been very different. We are told in the *Commemorative Discourses* of 1885, published by the diocese, that more than a third of the pews in Trinity Church, soon after 1735, were taken up "by the Gentlemen and Merchants who were bred Dissenters and have conformed" recently. Despite the slow completion of the interior of Trinity Church and the financial pressure, Mr. Davenport could write to the Bishop of London in 1741 "how God Almighty has been pleased to own and prosper it."

Of the first four rectors, serving from 1740 to 1804, three had New England roots and all had connections with the Congregational Church. Mr. Davenport's father, also a Harvard graduate, held high provincial offices, and was a founder of Brattle Street Congregational Church. Mr. Hooper had come over from Scotland, with excellent recommendations from prominent persons there, and in about three years, in 1737, was chosen the minister of a newly formed Congregational society in Boston. In 1746, he became a member of the Church of England, and went to London to be ordained, in order to be rector of Trinity Church. On his sudden sailing, the *Boston Evening Post* said: "It is generally thought no minister in the country was ever better respected and supported by his people." Governor Shirley then wrote to Lon-

REV. WILLIAM HOOPER

Second Rector

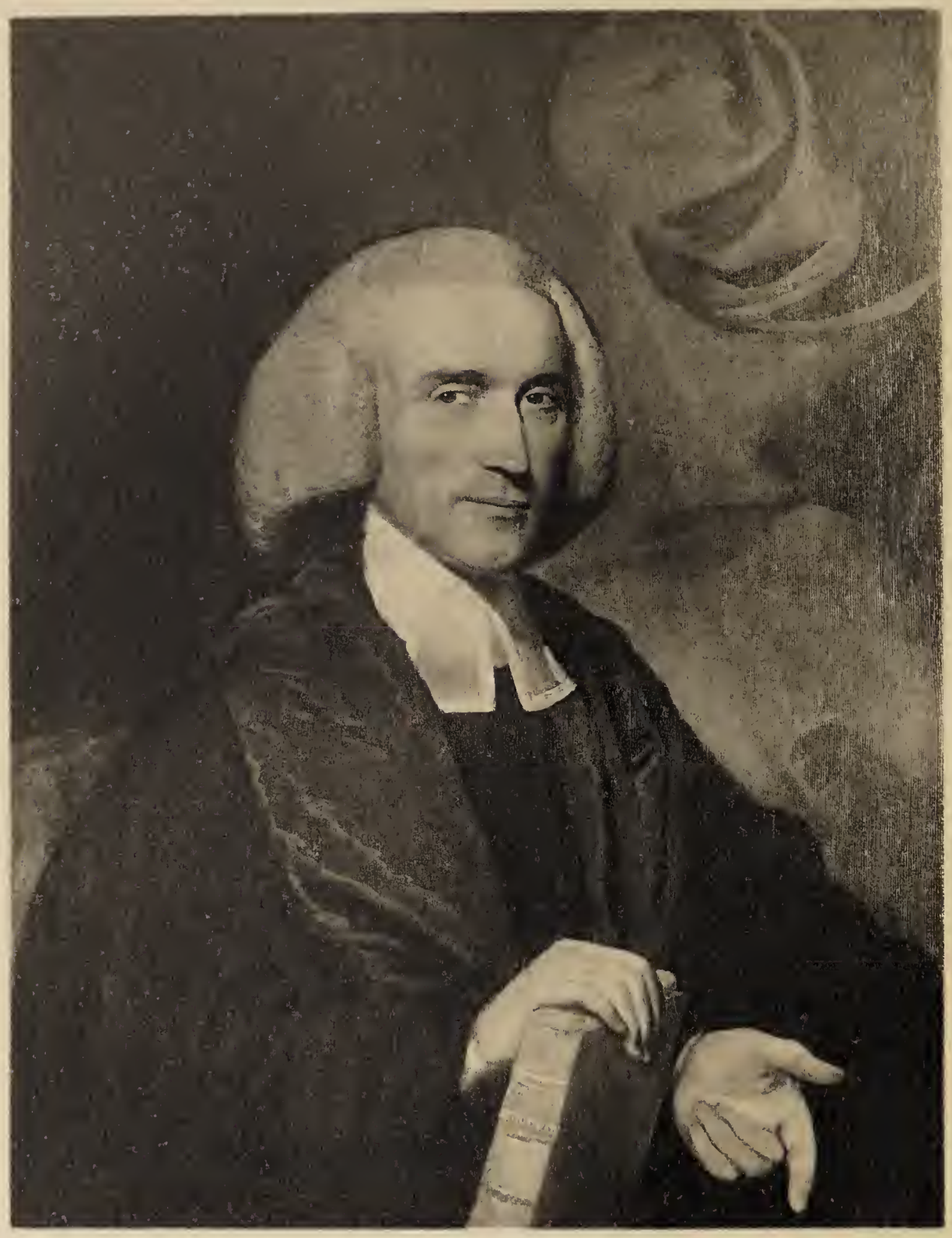
don warmly of him and his work, that he had been an "extraordinary preacher" and had "in a remarkable manner" the hearts of the people among whom he had ministered. Mr. Walter's father and grandfather had been Congregational ministers in Roxbury. Another grandfather was a chief justice of Massachusetts. After graduating from Harvard College, in 1756, where he stood high in classics, he taught school in Salem, and then was an official in the Custom House there. When he turned to the Church of England for ordination, in 1764, his former pastor, an eminent Congregationalist of Salem, wrote to the London Church authorities that he had been a constant communicant and in every way deserved high praise. Mr. Walter left Boston, at the Revolution, as a Loyalist, became rector of a parish in Nova Scotia, and returned to Boston, to be rector of Christ Church from 1792 to 1800. One incident which occurred while he was rector of that church illustrates the man. He was invited by President Willard of Harvard College to deliver the Dudleian Lecture on the specified subject of "exposing the idolatry of the Romish Church, their tyranny, &c." He declined, saying that he had never liked the subject, that our government treated all denominations equally, that among his acquaintance were leading Catholics seriously engaged in their Master's service!

In 1773, Mr. Walter, in looking for an assistant minister, turned to a young schoolteacher in Newburyport, Samuel Parker. Dr. Caner of King's Chapel also considered him for assistant at the Chapel. Mr. Walter's correspondence with Parker, like all the other records which are available of Walter, shows marked kindness, dignity, wisdom. That the rector remained a moderate Tory and became a refugee is not surprising. Of the Boston Tea Party he writes to Parker, who had gone to England for ordination: "I own myself greatly at a loss to conjecture what will be the Issue of this Ebullition of the Spirit of Liberty." While he blames the Tea Party, he supposes

"that Parliament would yield this Duty upon Tea rather than hazard by it the Dependency of the Colonies."* Mr. Parker was graduated from Harvard in 1764. His father was a lawyer of note and a judge in New Hampshire, and was a Congregationalist. The son, on leaving Harvard, became master of "an ancient and respectable" school in Roxbury, before preparing for the Church. Mr. Parker, while rector of Trinity, was an outstanding citizen of Boston. He was one of the first board of trustees of the Boston Library Society, organized in 1793, and was chairman of the board of managers of the Boston Dispensary from its organization in 1796 until he became bishop in 1804. From early days, the associations of Trinity pulpit have been generally with breadth of view and toleration. The clergy seem to have been well thought of by their Boston neighbors.

The town of Boston when Trinity began its career, if we may trust the map and notations of one of its founders, William Price, had some eighteen thousand inhabitants. Besides King's Chapel and Christ Church, there were eight Congregational meeting-houses and one French Protestant society, one Anabaptist, one "Irish" Presbyterian, and one Quaker Meeting. In 1748, Dr. Cutler, rector of Christ Church, wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that his church was the smallest of the three Episcopal congregations; that King's Chapel and Trinity were fairly large; that there were ten large independent congregations and three smaller ones—one on the Genevan model, one Anabaptist, one of Quakers. The Papists, he thought, were many, but were too concealed for observation! And there were eight Episcopal or Church of England societies in Massachusetts outside of Boston. In 1766, fourteen Episcopal clergy of New England attended a convention in Boston. Two years later, fifteen clergymen, including Mr. Walter, third rector of Trinity Church, signed a letter to the S. P. G. in London saying that the general state of their

* See documents at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and its *Proceedings* for 1888.



REV. WILLIAM WALTER

Third Rector

churches was as good as could reasonably be expected under the present troublesome state of the colonies, and that they had to cultivate patience under various insults for refusing to join in popular clamors. The political revolution was on.

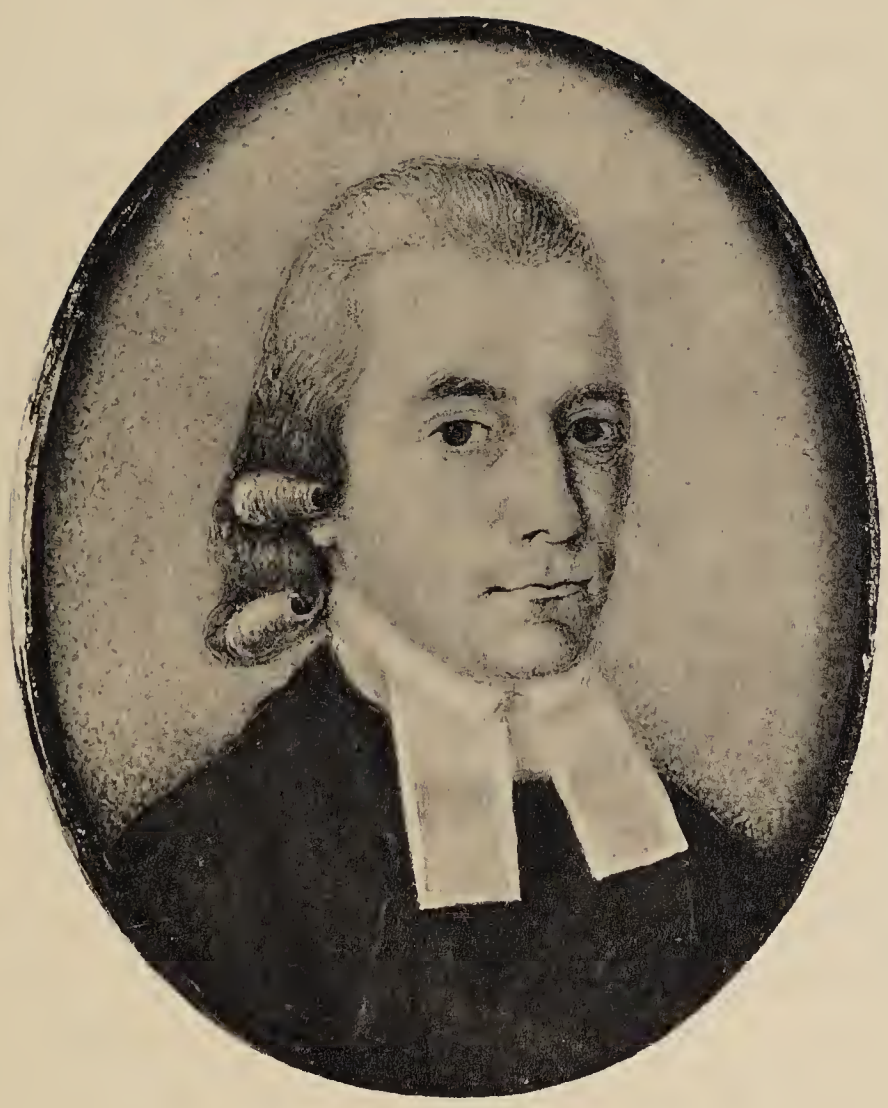
When Mr. Walter, in 1776, left Boston with the British troops, as did the clergy of King's Chapel and Christ Church, Mr. Samuel Parker remained in charge of Trinity. The proprietors of King's Chapel suggested that one service for the small number of Episcopalians remaining in Boston should be held in the Chapel, as it was the most centrally located. But Mr. Parker would not close Trinity; worshippers were invited there; and in 1782, there are recorded the warm thanks of the Chapel for that accomodation. While Mr. Parker was a friendly neighbor, he could not approve the changes which were adopted at King's Chapel in the manner of installing its minister and in the revision of its liturgy. Mr. Brooks in his historical sermon tells how Mr. Parker, with the approval of wardens, vestry, and proprietors, omitted prayers for the King and kept Trinity Church open throughout the Revolution—when King's Chapel was used by a Congregationalist society and Christ Church was closed. But there was another fine service done by Mr. Parker, disclosed in the memoirs of Bishop White of Pennsylvania. It was stressed by Dr. Donald, tenth rector of Trinity Church, in a sermon preached when there was unveiled in the church in 1901 a tablet in memory of Charles Henry Parker, grandson of the fourth rector and long a leading vestryman and warden. That service was the statesmanlike part which Mr. Parker played in organizing the Protestant Episcopal Church in America between 1785 and 1789. It was twofold. First, he helped to unite the Episcopalians of New England with their brethren to the South in one national Church, under a Church constitution—adopted in Philadelphia, where the Federal Constitution had just been drafted. Secondly, he helped to give to the laity an important share of power in our ecclesiastical constitution—in marked

contrast to the traditions of Anglican Church government.* Let us not forget, said Dr. Donald, how critical was the time, how important the issues, and that the achievement was largely due to one "modest, sagacious, disinterested, tenacious man, Samuel Parker."† Bishop Parker's successor in Trinity, Mr. Gardiner, wrote of him: "His reputation extended throughout the Union. . . . He was looked up to as the head of the Episcopal Church in New England." The degree of Doctor of Divinity was given him in 1789 by the University of Pennsylvania.

The Rev. John Sylvester John Gardiner, the fifth rector of Trinity Church, from 1804 to 1830, also had strong New England ties. His grandfather Sylvanus, who was of a well-known Rhode Island family, studied medicine in Paris, and practised it in Boston. He had a large circle of acquaintances. He was the senior warden of King's Chapel, off and on, for twenty years. He had great estates in Maine and founded the town of Gardiner on the Kennebec. He was a refugee at the Revolution, but he returned and spent his last years in Rhode Island. His oldest son was educated in England but was always an ardent Whig in politics and a defender of the American colonies. His son, afterward the rector, divided his schooling between Boston in New England and England, and returned to Boston to live with his father in 1783. He first studied law, then entered the ministry in 1787. He acted as lay reader in Maine; his first ministry was at Beaufort, South Carolina. He became assistant minister at Trinity in 1792. To supplement his income, he opened a private school in the classics, in which he had won proficiency in England. "His school soon acquired great reputation. His pupils were numerous. They entered high at the University. . . . From the establishment of his school the revival in this community of classical

* *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, the Rt. Rev. William White, D.D., New York, 1880.

† Notes of a sermon preached by the Rev. E. Winchester Donald, D.D., Trinity Sunday, 1901.



REV. SAMUEL PARKER
FOURTH RECTOR

learning may be dated." He received an A.M. from Harvard in 1803 and a D.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1813.*

The Anthology Club, which grew into the Boston Athenaeum, was organized at Mr. Gardiner's house, and he was the president for its first five years. That active association of men of culture, wrote the Hon. Josiah Quincy, marked "an epoch in the intellectual history of the United States." And he added of Mr. Gardiner: "Avoiding controversy, he upheld the doctrines and order of his church with earnestness. Liberal in respect to the opinions of others, he claimed reciprocity for his own. For cant or fanaticism he had neither sympathy nor respect."†

The use of hymns, so familiar to-day, is a comparatively modern addition to the Episcopal service. The Trinity records tell that a subscription was taken in 1785 for payment of a singing school, to teach parishioners of both sexes to sing Psalm tunes, for "better and more agreeable performance of that excellent and sublime part of Devotion." Ten years later, a man was employed to lead congregational singing. Later, there was a men's choir. Instruction in singing was given in the Sunday school. Several of the organists at Trinity were leaders in music in Boston.

Meanwhile the first Trinity Church wooden structure was getting old. "An elegant and much admired" plan, by the eminent Bulfinch, for a colonnade on the Summer Street end was considered in 1793, but was laid aside because of the expense involved. Soon after that, there is record of debts incurred for maintenance. The source of supply seems to have been assessments on the pews. Then a suggestion is made that persons who attend services but pay no pew tax be invited to subscribe. But conditions were evidently not ready for any radical change. The wardens had always acted as treasurers

* A sermon preached on the death of Dr. Gardiner by the Rev. George W. Doane, assistant minister, 1830.

† See *History of the Boston Athenaeum*, Josiah Quincy, Cambridge, 1851.

and collectors, and had sometimes even to advance money that officers might not go unpaid. They now complain of the burden of collecting.

The year 1829 marks a real advance in Trinity Church, with the opening of the new stone building, and a reorganization of the financial management through appointment of a treasurer. The building committee appointed in 1828 consisted of John T. Apthorp; George Brinley; John Hubbard; Joseph Head, Jr.; William Dehon; William D. Sohier; Edward H. Robbins, Jr.; and Joseph Tilden. The vote of the proprietors was two to one for a new church, seventy-six votes being cast. A design following a Greek style was first considered but was replaced by a Gothic design by George W. Brimmer, an architect who belonged to a well-known Boston family connected with Trinity. The church lot was enlarged by purchase, at a cost of $7,875, to allow an ampler structure. But the decision to authorize that purchase was a close one, sixty-two votes being cast by proprietors. The cost of the new structure was to be $60,000. The parish faced a debt bravely. A new organ soon had to be purchased to replace that of 1744. Ten years after the new building was opened, there was a total debt of about $32,000.

After the old church edifice was taken down, two of the panels on canvas, which had probably been in its chancel and were said to have been painted by John Smibert, containing the Commandments, Apostles' Creed, and Lord's Prayer, found their way onto the walls of Christ Church, Cambridge. Hanging in the robing room of the present Trinity Church building are paintings of two cherubic heads, the only material ties with the old building except some silver plate and a few books. By the Clarendon Street entrance there is set into the stone wall a rosette taken from the tower of the second building of 1829, and many stones taken from it are in the foundations of the present building.

But a new building did not by itself fill the pews. In 1834,

the new rector, Dr. Wainwright, wrote to the vestry of pecuniary embarrassments and of thin congregations. The appointment of a treasurer was good administration, but it did not fill the church coffers. In 1863, the records state that for ten years past the current expenses had exceeded the income from pew rates or rentals. Bishop Eastburn's long rectorate ended in 1866, when the diocese had raised a fund for maintenance of its head. At that time the Trinity debt was about $24,000. The annual expenses, of about $12,000, were met from the tax on pews and the Trinity share of the income of the Price Fund. In 1867, twenty-one pews were sold at auction by a professional auctioneer, after advertisement in the daily papers. Three were bought by individuals, the rest were bought by the church.

The religious society of Trinity Church had been incorporated by an act of the Legislature in 1831. The proprietors followed with by-laws, by which each pew entitled the owner to a vote in person or by written proxy.* If financial sledding was slow and there was little growth in the congregation, yet some important achievements are to be noted. A Sunday school was established under Dr. Gardiner in 1827. It began with sixty scholars and twelve teachers. It soon had a library of 300 books. A catalogue of Trinity Church Parochial Library was printed in 1845 with titles of 200 books. The catalogue of 1857 was twice as large. A new vestry room was built by subscription in 1854. The Diocesan Convention records show that the number of communicants, which was 250 when Dr. Gardiner's rectorate ended in 1830, had increased to 450 in 1868. The number of Sunday school scholars had increased threefold; and the gifts to missions and general Church purposes had grown largely.

* The revised by-laws of 1911 give one vote only to a proprietor (i.e. owner) of any number of pews. There were finally listed 133 pews in the first church building, 164 in the second building; and there are 219 on the floor of the present building, the galleries being free.

In 1839, the vestry records speak of a singularly united congregation of parishioners for over a century! But in 1846 came a disturbing incident—the one marked exception to the spirit of breadth and tolerance which has characterized Trinity Church. The Oxford Movement had been growing in England. Newman had recently gone over to Rome. Bishop Eastburn, of Evangelical bent of mind, felt compelled to end the term of the Rev. John L. Watson as assistant minister because of certain High Church tendencies. Mr. Watson had bridged over the gap between Wainwright and Eastburn, and was evidently liked and respected. There followed a pamphlet controversy. The proprietors agreed that any assistant should be acceptable to the rector. Kind words were spoken of Mr. Watson, who resigned. And a clear statement was adopted by the proprietors that, so far as they were concerned, Trinity Church would not take part in any ecclesiastical warfare! Resolutions of the proprietors, in 1838, had recognized the loyalty due the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but had declared as to questions of Churchmanship that "The laity of Trinity Church have never taken, and never can take, until they shall have undergone some strange and radical alteration, any voluntary part or interest in these problems, which are utterly repugnant to the principles, feelings and views of their religious association."

Between the long pastorates of Gardiner and Eastburn, there were two rectors for short periods. The Rev. George W. Doane, who was of a New Jersey family, was an instructor in Washington (later Trinity) College at Hartford, whence he came in 1828 to be the assistant minister of Trinity, Boston. He became rector early in 1831, but resigned in the autumn of the next year, to become Bishop of New Jersey. He was the author of several well-known hymns.* The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright was rector from early in 1833, for five

* *Life and Writings of George Washington Doane, with Memoir by his son William C. Doane*, 4 vols., New York, 1860–1861.

years. His father, an English merchant, had come to Boston soon after the Revolution; had married here a daughter of a Congregational minister; had gone to England, where his children were born; and had returned to Boston. His son, later the rector, was graduated from Harvard College in 1812, taught school, and was an instructor at Harvard. Entering the ministry, he was an assistant at Trinity Church, New York, and then rector of Grace Church there. He again became an assistant at Trinity, New York, and had been Bishop of New York in 1852 for a short time, when his health broke.

In the last chapter of this book are given the names and dates of service of all the rectors and assistant ministers, wardens and vestrymen, clerks and treasurers, for the two hundred years of parish life. Seven of the rectors became bishops, as did three of the assistant ministers. The list of wardens and vestrymen includes many men representative of Boston's best citizens. But an honor roll of men and women who have notably served a church during two hundred years cannot be made up fairly. It would include many ushers, musicians, Sunday school teachers, parish visitors, and others. For example, there were two women, intellectual, and of rare spiritual gifts, who taught large classes on Sundays in Trinity Church for thirty-three years each, beginning in 1871. Miss Lucy R. Woods, a teacher in the Girls' High School of Boston, taught girls on Sunday mornings. Mrs. Sarah Wyman Whitman, an artist, and a real friend to many persons of all walks of life, taught women in the afternoon.* To those classes Miss Heloise Hersey succeeded. Again, there were "the long and faithful services" as organist, from 1864 to 1891, of Mr. J.C. D. Parker, a grandson of the fourth rector.

The story of the Price Fund is notable. Among the founders of Trinity Church was William Price. He was in 1733 one of the small building committee, the managing trustees. He

*Memoirs of Miss Woods and Mrs. Whitman are in Trinity Parish Library.

was a vestryman for two years and junior warden for six. He was a contributor to the erection of Christ Church, was a vestryman of it, and a warden, and once offered to act as organist for a year without salary. At King's Chapel he had been a temporary organist, had contributed to its rebuilding, and he attended services there in his last years. He had made a large loan to it. He left instructions that his funeral should be in Trinity Church, and that Dr. Caner of King's Chapel should preach the funeral sermon. In early life Price had been a cabinetmaker, but he is mentioned in 1770 as a "Pickterman," a dealer in engravings and books. When he died the next year, aged eighty-seven, he left as a life estate to his widow and two nieces his brick house and a narrow lot of land running from Washington Street to Court Square. The residuary legatees were King's Chapel, or, if the Chapel did not formally accept the estate, then Trinity Church. The income was to be used for the particular church, and for the preaching of eight sermons in Lent, yearly, by clergymen of the three Episcopal churches in which he was so interested, and for the poor of those churches. When the last niece died, in 1809, she bequeathed the estate to a nephew, stating her belief that her Uncle Price would never have left it to King's Chapel had he known that the Chapel could deviate from the worship, doctrine, and discipline of the Church of England, to which her uncle was strongly attached. She knew, so she wrote, his abhorrence of all innovation, especially in religious matters. But King's Chapel took possession, having to get the nephew out by judicial action. The effort to unite the clergy of the three churches named in the will in Lenten services led to a suggestion from one at the Chapel that a special form of liturgy should be prepared, acceptable to all. But Dr. Gardiner of Trinity replied: "If we can bear your prayers, surely you may endure ours!" For ten years, King's Chapel held the Price Fund, whose income was increasing, and used the balance of income, after the charges specified in the will were made, for

current charges of the Chapel. Then Trinity Church instituted legal proceedings to acquire the estate, with an array of eminent counsel. But the issue was closed by a compromise, advised by all the counsel concerned. The estate passed into the control of Trinity Church, which must pay over to King's Chapel, for Chapel uses, one-half of the annual income, after the Price will specific charges are paid; and Trinity Church keeps the other half for its support.

In 1860, when the value of the Price estate was perhaps $150,000, and its annual income, under a long lease of 1842, was only $3,500, the Diocesan Convention of Massachusetts instructed a committee to confer with the rector and wardens of Trinity Church over the "very grave question" of whether the surplus income of the Price Fund should not be used for the charities named in the Price will—for the increase of the possible hearers of designated sermons and for the poor of Episcopal parishes. But the rector, Bishop Eastburn, who was ever frank and bold, and the wardens replied that the Convention had no power to inquire into the trust. They had fortified themselves by consultation with eminent counsel of King's Chapel and by the advice of the Trinity vestry. So the Convention went to the attorney-general of the Commonwealth, and he filed information with the Supreme Judicial Court, on behalf of the Convention "and two poor persons of Christ Church." Christ Church itself did not appear as a party. In 1864 the Supreme Court decided that the charities named in the Price will were to receive only the particular sums specified in the will, and the bill was dismissed.

The trustees of the Fund are the rector and the wardens of Trinity Church. The vestry is to supervise their administration of the trust. The will of William Price is submitted to the annual meeting of the corporation of Trinity Church. His little lot of land on Washington Street was recently sold, with the approval of the senior warden of King's Chapel, for nearly a half-million dollars. The amount of net income yearly, di-

vided between King's Chapel and Trinity Church, is now nearly $25,000.

There is one curious incident connected with William Price and Trinity Church. He was associated with Captain Bonner in bringing out the first pictorial view of the town of Boston. The original plate may have been made before the church was built. The view which bears the date 1743 and is dedicated to Peter Faneuil has a startling detail. The first Trinity Church structure may have been attractive within, but its exterior was remarkably plain. But in the Price view, all we see of that church, yet clearly numbered with its name, is a decorative spire, high above Fort Hill, topping the neighboring meeting-houses and crowned with a bishop's miter and a cross. A clear case of imagination!

Trinity Church has reason to remember gratefully the name of another one of the founders and of the building committee of 1733, Thomas Greene. He was a vestryman for twenty-two years, until his death in 1763. Then his heirs, carrying out a plan of his, offered to give the church five hundred pounds, on condition that a like sum should be raised by it, for a perpetual fund for supporting a constant assistant minister in Trinity Church or for supplying any other of the Episcopal churches in or about Boston, if vacancies should occur in them by death, sickness, or necessary absence of their stated ministers. The minister, wardens, and vestry of Trinity Church were named trustees, with absolute discretion in carrying out the donation, except that certain relatives of Mr. Greene should take part in the selection of assistant ministers, as long as they lived, and that the selection should always be approved by the stated minister of Trinity Church.

The five hundred pounds required for acceptance of this donation were soon raised, and more, from forty-two subscribers, and rules were drawn up for the acceptance of any assistant chosen. If a difference of opinion should arise between any minister and assistant on this Foundation as to

duties required of the assistant by the minister, the question should be determined by the wardens and vestry. A list of the assistant ministers appointed is given in this book in Chapter XIII.

In 1763 and in 1789, allowances were made for the expenses of travel to England by candidates for orders, that they might be ordained for the ministry in Trinity Church. Mr. Parker ministered in St. Andrew's Church, Hanover, during a vacancy there. In 1786, when the income of the Foundation had not been used for some years, Mr. Parker suggested that an assistant be appointed, so that he and the assistant could supply not only Trinity but also Christ Church, which was then unable to have a regular clergyman. Again, in 1800, the assistant, Mr. Gardiner, officiated there.

In 1776, the treasurer of the Foundation went to England with papers and some securities. Negotiations with him did not bring a settlement until after twenty years. In 1802, the principal of the Fund was $9,728; the income was $656. The Rev. Mr. Gardiner, who became rector in 1804, allowed the fund to grow with accumulated interest, for twenty-three years. In 1824, special acts of the Legislature confirmed the corporation; specified its power to add interest to principal; and required nine members of the trustees to make a quorum.

In 1827, the fund was $39,700, and the income $2,179. In its sixty-four years there had been a "constant assistant" on it for only twenty-four. When the income was insufficient for compensation, the church made up the difference from its treasury. The approval of proprietors for a choice of assistant was usual. In 1828, when electing the fourth person to be assistant on the Foundation, the trustees recorded that although they had power to make a choice, yet they wished to know if the particular selection would be acceptable to the proprietors of the church. And the proprietors approved. In 1835, a committee of the trustees advised, in order that the proprietors might know persons before acting on them, that

first appointments should be made for one year only. In 1878, a decree was had from the Supreme Judicial Court allowing the trustees to appoint as many as three assistants, who may officiate in other Episcopal churches in the diocese; and allowing such portions of the income as are not needed for purposes specified to be used for temporary services in Trinity Church. Illustrations of helpful missionary work in Boston, accomplished through the Greene Foundation, are the ministrations of the Rev. Thomas M. Clark at Grace Church; of the Rev. Charles H. Babcock at St. Mark's Church; and, in the West End, of the Rev. Bryan B. Killikelly, and, notably, of the Rev. Reuben Kidner, who was for twenty-four years the vicar of St. Andrew's Chapel there. The principal of the Foundation is now nearly $84,000, book values, which means the cost prices; the income is about $5,000.

One other benefaction in Trinity Church has come down from its first hundred years. The Rev. Samuel Parker, whose association with the church, as assistant minister on the Greene Foundation and then as rector, lasted for thirty years, died in 1804, leaving a widow and eleven children, of whom eight were minors. A committee of the proprietors then raised $9,649 from ninety-five persons, in sums ranging from $4 to $800. So there was established by the contributors a trust fund to continue forever, "The Widows' Fund," under government of the wardens and vestry. The income was to be used for maintenance of widows and orphan children of rectors of Trinity Church, who may be in need thereof, beginning with Mrs. Parker and the minor children of herself and Bishop Parker. But if at any time there shall not be living any needy widows or minor children of rectors, then the income when over one thousand dollars shall be accumulated for new funds for the help of needy families of assistant ministers of Trinity Church, or, finally, for support of a Bishop of Massachusetts who is also rector of Trinity Church. If the capital fund shall become more than sufficient for those purposes, as

specified, then the surplus may be used for "such other object connected with this church" as the wardens and vestry may deem advisable.

Mrs. Parker received the income until her death in 1843, some $150 quarterly. Then it went to Mrs. Gardiner, widow of the fifth rector, until her death in 1849. The widow of Dr. Donald, the tenth rector, received an annuity until her death in 1919. The fund has grown steadily; and income has been used, under the trust provisions, for parish visitors, for pension fund payments of the clergy staff, and for other expenses connected with the parish. The principal is now nearly $120,000, book values; the income is about $5,400.

Trinity Church took a leading part in early conventions of the Diocese of Massachusetts from its formation in 1784. Trinity was the strongest parish. But the Episcopal Church was then feeble, even considering the low ebb of all organized religion. In 1812, when the first report of Episcopal work in Massachusetts was presented, there were probably not over six hundred real communicants. Trinity in Boston led with one hundred and fifty; its neighbor Christ Church had sixty; some dozen other churches, scattered over Massachusetts, ranged from fifty communicants to five.

When the Eastern Diocese was formed of all New England except Connecticut, and Bishop Griswold took up its care in 1811, there were in all that diocese only twenty-two parishes and sixteen active clergymen. A large proportion of the parishes had come down from the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Some of them had little life. But when Trinity completed its first century of parish life, three churches had been added in Boston—St. Matthew's, St. Paul's, and Grace Church. The Eastern Diocese—then Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, and New Hampshire—had fifty parishes and two thousand communicants.*

* Readers who wish to know more of the beginnings of the Episcopal Church hereabouts will find it briefly put, by Episcopal leaders, in the *Commemorative Discourses* published by the Diocese of Massachusetts in 1885; in the *Memorial History of*

Such facts as we have given from the history of Trinity Church for its first century and a quarter make a background for what followed. The latter part of that history was becoming rather drear, with the church in a down-town location, with pews not filled, with a treasury dependent mostly on pew assessments and in debt. Because of those conditions, we honor highly the parish leaders from 1868 to 1877, who had vision and courage to begin a new era of parish life.

We have given the names of the committee which built the first church edifice and administered the affairs of Trinity Church in its earliest infancy, which was not easy; and we have given the names of those who had the courage, despite opposition, to enlarge the church lot and build the second edifice, which was durable, dignified, churchly. Mr. Brooks in his historical sermon gives hearty appreciation of the services of the building committee of 1872–1877 and especially of its small executive committee. But he does not name them, except Mr. Dexter, who died just as their work was beginning, after a long service as vestryman and warden. This building committee consisted of George M. Dexter; Charles H. Parker; Robert C. Winthrop; Martin Brimmer; Charles R. Codman; John C. Ropes; John G. Cushing; Charles J. Morrill; Robert T. Paine, Jr.; Stephen G. Deblois; and William P. Blake. The executive committee, appointed in April, 1873, was Messrs. Parker, Paine, and Charles W. Galloupe. In 1877, that committee could report to the proprietors that the new church buildings just consecrated, free of debt, and the ample lot on which they stood, had cost $660,539. From the old Trinity estate on Summer Street with its ruined church had been received the sum of $428,239. Much money had been courageously raised. Characteristic of Phillips Brooks was the letter which he wrote, on the consecration, to Mr. Paine, his college classsmate and close

Boston, published in 1881, Vol. 3, Chapter 10, "The Episcopal Church," by the Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D.; and in *The Religious History of New England*, The King's Chapel Lectures, published in 1917, Chapter V, "The Episcopalians," by the Rev. George Hodges, D.D.

friend, of his grateful obligation to Paine for untiring work for the church. The senior warden, Charles Henry Parker, had given much of himself to its service. But both the building committee and the proprietors recorded their obligation to their beloved rector, for his taste, zeal, patience, faith—"He has been himself the inspiration of architect, builders and committee!"

New Trinity Church was the greatest work of the architect Henry H. Richardson, as the architects of Boston wrote later, on the tablet which they placed on the cloister wall. His own description of the plan and building of the church is given in Chapter XII.*

That noble group of church buildings, well located and amply spaced, was indeed a monumental achievement. But material possessions ought always to be related to and be an expression of real spiritual growth. The greatest service of the group of laymen who removed and built our Trinity Church was that, in 1868–1869, they had the wisdom to choose as rector the young and notable Phillips Brooks, and then to wait for his acceptance, despite his first refusals—a great man, an inspirer and leader of men in spirituality, for following the Christian Way. For 136 years, Trinity Church in the City of Boston had a history which was useful and eminently respectable, perhaps honorable. Occasionally only did it rise above the conventional. When Phillips Brooks came in 1869 to be its eighth rector, it became one of the few churches known throughout the Christian world.

We turn now to Mr. Brooks's own summary of the history of Trinity Church up to 1877. Then we shall look at Bishop Lawrence's word portraits of the seventh and eighth rectors. Each served long. The old era of Trinity ended with Eastburn. The new and great era began with Brooks!

* In *Monographs of American Architecture*, Number V, Ticknor & Co., Boston, 1888, are twenty-three large views of Trinity Church, outside and inside, with a portrait of Richardson.

II

HISTORICAL SERMON

BY REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D.

Reprinted from Consecration Services of Trinity Church, Boston
Printed by order of the Vestry, 1877

TRINITY CHURCH, SUMMER STREET

Looking toward Washington Street

Opened for worship in 1829

Historical Sermon

The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers: let him not leave us, nor forsake us. I KINGS VIII. 57.

AT last the work is done. The cares and perplexities which have filled these last four years, the unsettlement and restlessness are over, and we stand, a strong and happy parish, in this noble Church, which on last Friday we consecrated to Almighty God. I see to-day for the first time, your well-known faces in the unfamiliar pews, which yet have given you such a large, motherly welcome, that it does not all seem strange. We look around upon these walls which are to make the home in which we shall more and more love to live. This first parish service opens the long series of thousands of such services, in which we and those who come after us shall here worship the Lord in whom we trust. Let us ask together that, in fulfillment of the Psalmist's prayer, the Lord may indeed "send us help from the sanctuary, and strengthen us out of Zion."

I want to-day not merely to look forward with you, but to look back. My text is taken from the great prayer which was read at our Consecration Service, the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of his completed Temple. At the end of the chapter which precedes that prayer, there is a verse which always seems to me to be full of significance and beauty. We read that "So was ended all the work that King Solomon made for the house of the Lord. And Solomon brought in the things which David, his father, had dedicated; even the silver, and the gold, and the vessels, did he put among the treasures of the house of the Lord." The sacred things of the father were brought into the temple of the son. It is a picture of the way in which the piety of the generations always must be bound together. We would not have our Church unblessed by all the past faith and devotion of our parish. It seems to me that to-day is the time for us to remember what has gone

before us in the history of Trinity Church, and so in our way bring in the things which our fathers have dedicated, and put them among the treasures of this house of the Lord which we have built. I think that there is no fitter use to which I can give this first Sunday morning sermon.

For a parish has a continuous life, which is not broken by the change of generations. And a parish which for years has filled a place and done a work like ours in Boston, cannot forget its past. This is the same old parish which your fathers loved. These walls repeat the walls in which they worshiped. We must not let the historical continuity be broken. It has been rich in strong, wise and good men. It has blessed many souls, and enriched the life of our beloved city for almost a century and a half. Let me to-day, then, try, in such brief outline as a sermon will allow, to tell its story so that we may see upon how deep a foundation of the past we are to build the future, with the hopes of which our hearts are full.

The beginning of the Episcopal Church in Boston was not hopeful. The Puritans, who had brought from the mother country a prejudice almost amounting to hatred for the Church of England, were naturally jealous when they found that Church desirous of establishing itself on this new soil, and so one attempt after another came to nothing. It was not till the year 1686, when Boston was more than fifty years old, that the first Episcopal services were held in the Town House, which stood where the old State House now stands. There "Mr. Ratcliffe was granted the east end of the Town House, where the deputies used to meet, until those who desire his ministry shall provide a fitter place." He was refused the use of either of the three meeting houses of the town. The same year Sir Edmund Andros came to Boston, and, after various fruitless negotiations, in the next spring he tyrannically took possession of the Old South meeting house for the worship of his own Church; and on Good Friday, March 24, 1687, the sexton opened the doors of that Puritan temple under the command

of Andros, which ordered him "to open and ring the bell for those of the Church of England." On Easter Sunday the Governor again occupied the same place, and had the full service; and during the rest of his administration the Governor used this house as a place of worship, whenever he wished.

The next step was the erection of King's Chapel in 1689, with gifts and privileges from the crown. From that time the worship of the Church of England may be said to have been fairly established in our city. It was not the worship of the people. It belonged to certain classes, but always there were people here who loved it, and it grew. An attempt to have Bishops consecrated for this country was made, but failed. The Church labored under the inconveniences of dependency. Every minister must go to England to be ordained. Yet still it grew. The King's Chapel was enlarged in 1710, and in 1723 the number of Episcopalians had so increased that a new Church was founded in the north part of Boston, and called Christ Church.

So stood our town in 1728. An old wood cut shows the King's Chapel, a hard, angular, wooden building, with a low, square tower, surmounted by a tall finial bearing a crown, and, far above the crown, a cock for a vane. The new Christ Church stood as it stands in venerable dignity to-day, and as we hope it may stand for many years to come. But in this year, 1728, "by reason that the Chapel is full, and no pews to be bought by new comers," the first steps were taken for the building of a new church to be called TRINITY. The land was bought at the corner of Summer street and Bishop's alley for £514 7*s.* 2*d.*, and the corner stone was laid on the 15th of April, 1734, by the Rev. Roger Price, Rector of King's Chapel, and commissary of the Bishop of London. The first service was held just one year from that day. "The Rev. Mr. Roger Price, his Lordship's commissary, preached the first sermon," so say the ancient Records, "from the tenth chapter of the Hebrews and twenty-third verse:—'Let us hold fast the profession of our

faith without wavering,' which sermon was preached before a large number of people, his Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq., being present, and likewise were the subscribers, Thomas Child, William Price, Thomas Greene, Committee." And so, in a service like that which we are holding here to-day, the career of Trinity Church began, April 15, 1734.

That first structure is not beyond the memory of many who are with us. It was of wood, ninety feet long and sixty broad, and the old pictures of it show us an exterior of such exemplary plainness, as would delight the souls of those who grudge the House of God the touch of beauty. "It had neither tower, nor steeple, nor windows in the lower story of the front. There were three entrances in front, unprotected by porches." Indeed, its exterior is almost exactly what one sees in multitudes of Pennsylvania Quaker Meeting Houses. But the interior, as all bear witness, was bright and pleasant and impressive. Its roof was a great "arch, resting on Corinthian pillars, with handsomely carved and gilded capitals. In the chancel were some paintings, considered very beautiful in their day." On the whole, no doubt, a goodly, sober, pleasant Church, where the people worshiped, and the children grew up with happy love for the Gospel which they heard, and for the place in which they heard it, and their children followed them, generation after generation, for almost a century.

The first minister of Trinity was the Rev. Addington Davenport. He had been assistant minister of the King's Chapel, and became Rector of Trinity Church soon after it was opened. He was born in Boston, and was a graduate of Harvard. He was the brother-in-law of Peter Faneuil, and that distinguished citizen occupied, we find, Pew No. 40 in old Trinity. During his brother-in-law's Rectorship, he gave the Church £100 towards the purchase of a new bell; and about the same time Governor Shirley presented the Communion plate which we still use, and the table cloths, prayer books, and other gifts,

which show the kindly feeling that existed toward the new Parish. Evidently it had taken at once a most respectable position in the town.

Of our first Rector we do not get a very clear impression: all that we hear of him impresses us with good sound sense. He evidently knew how to be firm and yet conciliatory. In some trouble which occurred between Mr. Price of the Chapel and the new Church, Mr. Davenport bears himself with quiet dignity. There are on record some conditions which he made when he accepted the Rectorship, which show his foresight and judiciousness. In all that he did he evidently intended work. He was Rector for six years, and then, in failing health, he went to England, where he died in 1746.

What was the character of the preaching which they heard in those days in that ancient Trinity, it is not hard to guess. The Church in the Colonies echoed the Church in England, and the Church in England, during the first half of the eighteenth century, has a character that is clearly marked. It was not a time of ardent piety. From the time of the Restoration, enthusiasm had been in disesteem. The philosophy of John Locke held sway in the schools. Christianity had come to be considered as perpetually on the defensive, and the religious literature of the time consisted in large part of the statement of the external evidences of the faith, the reconciliations of its requirements with human reason, the historical arguments for this or that form of government, or the enforcement of some moral duty. There was great ability and learning among the theologians and the preachers. The age of Barrow, and Tillotson, and South, was past, but Waterland, and Berkeley, and Doddridge, and Sherlock, and Warburton, and above all, Bishop Butler, were keeping high the intellectual standard of their time. But everything shared in that uninspired character which has fastened itself irrevocably to the early part of the eighteenth century.

The English Deists were uttering what they called the re-

ligion of common sense. It was the time of which it has been said that it was "an age destitute of depth or earnestness,—an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight, and whose public men were without character:" an age of light without love, whose very merits were of the earth, earthy. The credibility of the Christian religion, and the advantages of virtue,—these were the perennial topics. The infidel was convicted of unreasonableness, Sunday after Sunday. The sinner was proved to be unthrifty, over and over again.

These were the subjects, beyond a doubt, to which your fathers listened from the lips of our first ministers. It was not the loftiest preaching. It did not go to the deepest motives or results. It dealt with no profound experiences. It had nothing rapt or mystical about it. It was clear as crystal. It was cold, no doubt, as marble. Under its coldness was preparing the great spiritual outbreak which the last quarter of the century witnessed in many forms. But while we see that it was not the highest preaching, we may still own that there was in the preaching of those days a sturdy common sense, and a stout moral fibre, which could not help bringing forth good results in the natures which were ripened under its influence.

But to return to Trinity. Our second Rector, the successor of Mr. Davenport, is a man who stands with considerable distinctness before us. The Rev. William Hooper had been Pastor of the West Congregational Church, in Cambridge Street, ever since it was gathered in 1737. Suddenly, in the autumn of 1746, without the slightest notice of his intention, he broke away from his old associations and became an Episcopalian. It must have made a great talk in the little town. He had been beloved and honored in his Church, and everybody was filled with surprise. At once the proprietors of Trinity Church chose him to be their Rector, and he sailed for England, and came back in 1747, in full orders. He took charge of our parish im-

mediately, and retained it for twenty years, till in 1767 he suddenly fell dead as he was walking in his garden.

He seems to have been thoroughly a man of his time. He left the Congregationalists, partly because of the argument for Episcopacy, but mainly because of the more liberal and rational theology which he had imbibed. The latitude of the Church attracted him. The Scripture and natural reason were his oracles. He was an honest and brave man, and his ministry must have been thoroughly wholesome. One of his successors, Dr. Bartol, the present minister of the West Church, wrote of him twenty years ago, "If he had faults, of which the register does not appear, though some may think his desertion of his people implied them, I am confident they were not those of hypocrisy or double-dealing in any form; and his summary leave-taking of his charge, showed, perhaps, only a nature whose first necessity, like that of all great natures, was conformity between its action and its thought." It does not sound strange to us, after this, that his son was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

It was during the ministry of Mr. Hooper, that the Greene Foundation for the support of an assistant minister was established, by the gift of the heirs of Mr. Thomas Greene, supplemented by the contribution of other members of the parish. It has done good service, and has brought into connection with us many men of great ability and eminence. Its last and best work has been the re-establishment of the parish of St. Mark's Church in this city, which is now so full of hope and promise.

The first Assistant Minister on the Foundation was Dr. William Walter, and on the death of Mr. Hooper he became the Rector of the parish. He had been bred a Congregationalist, but became a member of our Church, and went to London for ordination. For ten years he served Trinity with faithfulness, and then the beginning of the Revolution came.

On the 17th of March, 1776, Boston was evacuated by the British, and the minister of Trinity went with General Howe and the British troops to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where he remained until the Revolution was over. Then he returned to Boston, and became the Rector of Christ Church. He died in 1800, and his funeral sermon was preached by his successor in Trinity, Dr. Parker. That sermon gives us a good idea of the faithful and earnest parish minister, and though in those hot days of patriotic zeal there was no chance for one who was out of sympathy with the cause of the Colonies, to be the preacher here, the very fact that when the war was over the royalist could come back to Boston and become again the Rector of a parish in the town, bears witness to the honor in which he must have been held.

The Revolution then had come. The English Church, which was to the people here the Church of their oppressors, most naturally fell into dislike, even greater than that with which the old Puritan feeling had regarded it. Every patriotic soul distrusted it. It was a hard time for Episcopacy here in Boston. Christ Church was closed from 1775 to 1778. King's Chapel was shut up, after its minister had fled to Halifax, until, by a poetic justice which seemed to revenge the arbitrariness with which the Old South meeting house had been seized and used by Sir Edmund Andros in the century before, the Old South people worshiped in the Chapel from 1777 to 1783. Only Trinity stood through the war, always open for worship and keeping alight the endangered fire of the Church.

This post of honor, this good record, she owes mainly to Dr. Samuel Parker, who had been the Assistant on the Greene Foundation from 1773, and who became minister of the Church after Dr. Walter's sudden departure. His long ministry gives a large part of its character to our history. He is the first of the three personages who stand out clearest and strongest in our picture. His calm, judicious, dignified behavior, evidently made possible the continuance of our services in Revolutionary times.

His catholic spirit is evident in all his actions. Once he even allowed a Requiem Mass, with the full Roman Catholic ceremonial, to be celebrated in Trinity Church, to the great disgust of at least one of his parishioners. He was a clear, strong, unbigoted Churchman, to whom the Churches naturally looked for counsel and example, and to whom in his later life they turned by ready instinct when they were seeking for a Bishop. His children's children, and their children, are with us now; and his family, in every generation, has made a large part of the strength of Trinity.

It must have been a strange, exciting day, when on Thursday, the 18th day of July, 1776, Dr. Parker called the Wardens and Vestry of the Church together, and told them that "he could not with safety perform the service of the Church for the future, as the Continental Congress had declared the American Provinces free and independent States; had absolved them from all allegiance to the British crown, and had dissolved all political connection between them and the realm of England." The news had evidently just arrived from Philadelphia. "He told them that he had been publicly interrupted the Sunday before, when he read the prayers for the King. He was sure that he could not read the service as it then stood, another Sunday. He begged their counsel and advice." The Wardens and Vestry were wise and prudent men. Probably they were also Americans and patriots. They concluded that "it would be more for the interest and cause of Episcopacy, and the least evil of the two, to omit a part of the Liturgy, than to shut up the Church." And they hoped "that, in this sad alternative, it will not be imputed to them as a fault, or construed as a want of affection for the Liturgy of the Church, if under these circumstances they omit that part of it in which the King is mentioned." So Trinity threw in her lot with the country, and under her wise Rector lived through those troublous times. "To the noble conduct of our deceased friend," said Dr. Gardiner of Dr. Parker, in his funeral sermon, "must doubtless be attributed

the preservation of the Episcopal Church in this town." So that we to-day owe him a debt which is easy to trace, and pleasant to acknowledge. In this new chancel a memorial window is to tell of his perpetual honor in the parish.

So time passed by. The open doors of Trinity welcomed those few who would still attend the English service; and after a while the war was over. Independence was secured. The Colonies were States. The nation had begun to live. Then came the long and doubtful struggle whether the Episcopal Church in this country should still maintain its life. This is not the place to tell the story of that struggle. It was the existence of a few parishes like this of ours, which mainly insured the possibility, and ultimately brought about success. Slowly the Church renewed its life, and rooted itself among the people, changing its character to meet the changed times, making itself an American Church. It has grown with the growth of the country from that day to this. We can never be thankful enough for the wisdom that directed her then. Keeping her reverence for all sacred associations of the past, she did genuinely cut herself free from all authority of the Church of England. She enlarged the freedom of her standards. She simplified the methods of her government. She established herself a free Church in a free State. Therein was her strength and hope. Therein her hope and strength must always be. If ever our Church goes back, and cumbers herself with the precedents, and submits herself to the influence or authority of the English Church, her power in this land is gone. She must be part and parcel of this people. She must be in heart and soul American, or she is nothing. She must have her sympathies here, and not across the sea. She must have her gaze and enthusiasm fixed upon the future of America, and not upon the past of England: or else she loses that fair heritage, which the eye of faith might have seen opening before her on the day when the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity voted that they would not close the Church, but that they would cease to acknowledge the

REV. JOHN SYLVESTER JOHN GARDINER

Fifth Rector

King; voted, in a word, that they and their Church would be American.

Dr. Parker was chosen Bishop of Massachusetts in 1804. But he died in the same year, before he had done any Episcopal service in his diocese. Before his death another ministry had begun, which was destined to be long and influential in the history of Trinity, and which reached to a period which not a few of those who are now listening to me can well remember. The Rev. Dr. John Sylvester John Gardiner was chosen assistant minister of this Church in 1792, and in 1805 he was made its Rector. He was in charge of the parish when he died in England, where he had gone to seek for health in 1830. Through those twenty-five years Dr. Gardiner administered the affairs of the parish alone, letting the income of the Greene Foundation accumulate, that it might be sufficient to render to the parish the aid which it has since afforded.

Dr. Gardiner's ministry must always be one of those which give character to the history of our parish. His broad and finished scholarship, his strong and vigorous manhood, his genial hospitality, his kindly pastorship, his fatherly affection, and his eloquence and wit, made him for forty years a marked and influential person, not merely in the Church but in the town. Dr. Doane, who was his successor, preached a sermon at his death, in which he commemorates the man, the scholar, and the Christian minister, in terms of glowing eulogy, which evidently appealed with confidence to the affection of those who listened, for their full justification. It is pleasant to know that the memory of Dr. Gardiner, too, will be honored by one of the memorial windows, which before long will fill our chancel. The remembrance of his ministry will never pass away, and we pray that his descendants may always make a valued and honored part of our parish, as they do to-day.

The events of such a useful, honorable ministry as his are few. What events there are, melt together, as we look back upon them, into one smooth and even flow of prosperous life.

In 1811, the Church reported fifty baptisms and one hundred and fifty regular communicants. In 1819, the movements began which led to the establishment of St. Paul's Church, which has done so much good work, and is now gathering itself up anew for a work as good, as noble, as any that it has done before. All this was full of interest for Trinity.

But now the time came when the old Church building, which had stood almost a hundred years, was growing weak with age. Perhaps the town, also, and the parish were growing rich and luxurious. The old sanctuary no longer satisfied the people, and those first movements which portend the building of a new Church began to show themselves. We, who have labored for the last four years, and watched with such anxiety and satisfaction the rising of this House of God, can understand the experiences of our fathers. The Proprietors voted, in 1828, to take down the venerable structure, which Mr. Commissary Price, long since gone back to England and gathered to his fathers, had dedicated almost a century before, and to build a new one. This new Church was finally consecrated by Bishop Griswold, on the 11th of November, 1829. There were some ancient people who never ceased, up to the day when the flames wrapt its granite walls in glory, and devoured the painted pride of its interior, to call the building where we worshiped till within five years, "the new Church."

It was a noble building in its day. It was one of the first of the Gothic buildings of this country which were built after Church architecture had begun to waken and aspire, and few that followed it equalled its dignity and calm impressiveness. The lighter and more fantastic styles of building sprang up in the city. The timber spires that made believe that they were stone, leaped up with unnatural levity into the sky; the cheap stone sculpture covered and deformed great, feeble fronts; the reign of imitation came; and in the midst of all of them Trinity stood, in its exterior at least, strong, genuine, solid, with its great rough stones, its broad, bold bands of sculpture, its bat-

REV. GEORGE WASHINGTON DOANE

Sixth Rector

tlemented tower, like a great castle of the truth,— grim, no doubt, and profoundly serious, but yet able to win from those who worshiped there for years, an affectionate confidence, and even a tender, yearning love. It lost, in course of time, its personal association with Dr. Gardiner, as this building will lose in time its immediate connection with those who have been most interested in its erection, but Dr. Doane, in 1830, said, in the then new Trinity, of the just departed minister,— "This noble edifice is the enduring monument of his performances." He had lived only to begin his services there after its consecration, when death summoned him away.

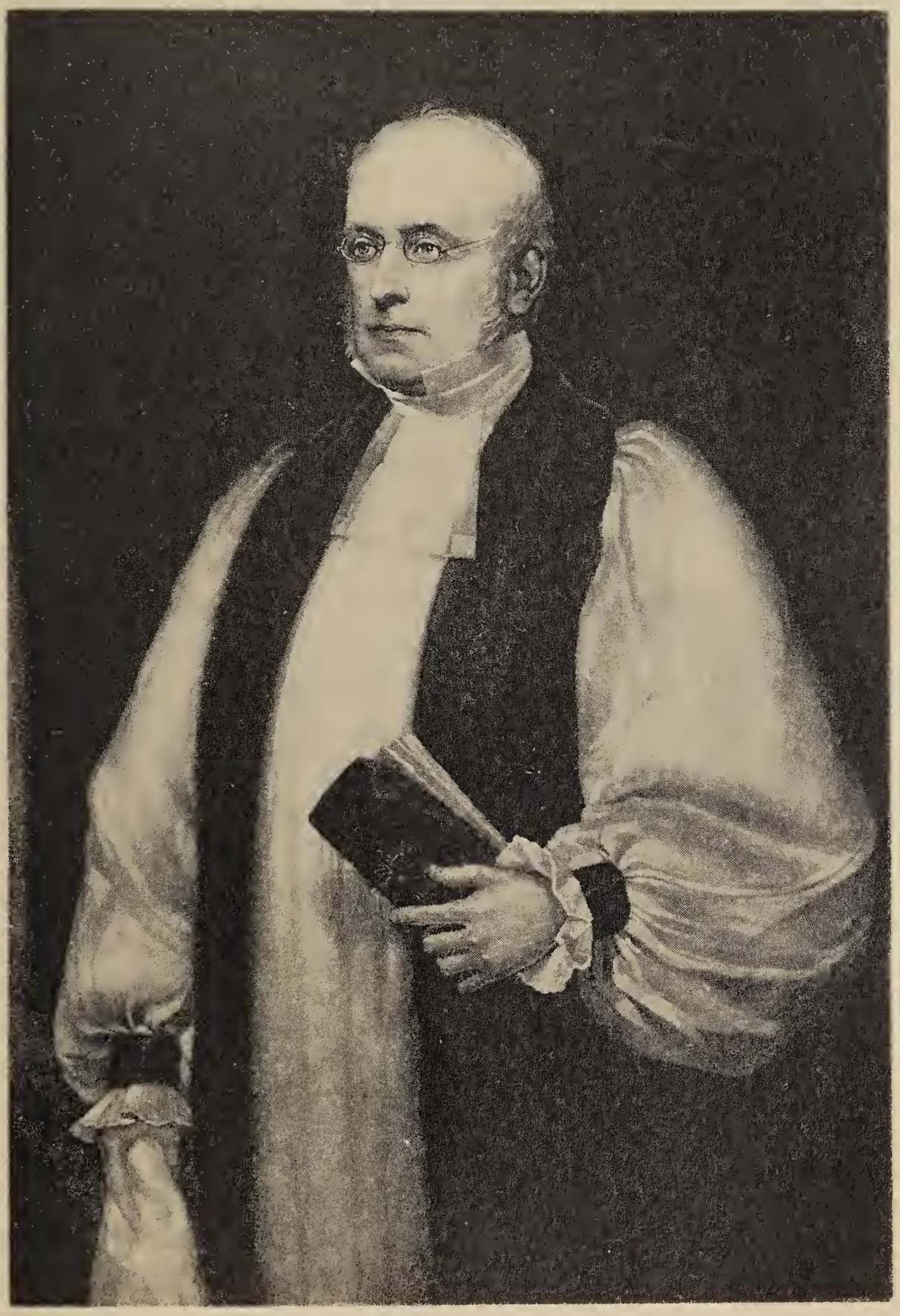
The death of Dr. Gardiner was followed by a somewhat rapid change of ministers for a few years. Dr. George W. Doane became Rector, and Dr. John Henry Hopkins, in the following year, was made assistant. In the next year, the Rector was made Bishop of New Jersey, and his assistant, Bishop of Vermont. In 1833, the Rev. Dr. Jonathan M. Wainwright was elected Rector, and for five years, which many of you that listen to me still gratefully remember, he served the parish, enriching its life with his graceful culture, and conscientious, pastoral care. Then he returned to New York, where he was shortly made Bishop. Two years later, with the election of the Rev. Dr. Manton Eastburn, began a third of those long and notable ministries, which have characterized the history of Trinity Church.

But by this time a change had come over the theology and preaching of the English Church. The great revival movements of the last quarter of the eighteenth century had taken place. Methodism had shaken the torpid Church from end to end. The evangelical revival, with its sturdy and earnest leaders and representatives, Wilberforce, Newton, Romaine and Simeon, and Henry Martyn and Venn, had filled men's hearts with the spirit of piety and prayer. The Church in this country had felt the reawakened life. Whitefield had been here in Boston, and though he might not be allowed, Church of Eng-

land minister as he was, to preach in Trinity, he had aroused a great revival.

The evangelical movement had its zealous men here and there throughout the land. The peculiarities of that movement were an earnest insistence upon doctrine, and upon personal spiritual experience, of neither of which had the previous generation made very much. Man's fallen state, his utter hopelessness, the vicarious atonement, the supernatural conversion, the work of the Holy Spirit,—these were the truths which the men of those days, who were what were called evangelical men, urged with the force of vehement belief upon their hearers. They were great truths. There were crude, hard and untrue statements of them very often, but they went deep; they laid hold upon the souls and consciences of men. They created most profound experiences. They made many great ministers and noble Christians. It was indeed the work of God.

To those of you who were his parishioners and friends, who heard him preach year after year, and knew what lay nearest to his heart, I need not say how entirely Bishop Eastburn was a man of this movement. His whole life was full of it. He had preached its Gospel in New York with wonderful success and power. He bore his testimony to it to the last in Boston. A faith that was very beautiful in its childlike reliance upon God; a sturdy courage which would have welcomed the martyrdom of more violent days; a complete, unquestioning, unchanging loyalty to the ideas which he had once accepted; a deep personal piety, which, knowing the happiness of divine communion, desired that blessedness for other souls; a wide sympathy for all of every name who were working for the ends which he loved and desired; these, with his kindly heart and constancy in friendship, made the power of the long ministry of Bishop Eastburn. The teaching of this parish through twenty-six years was most direct and simple. There was a dread, even, of other forms in which the same awakening of spiritual life was manifest. The High Church-



REV. JONATHAN MAYHEW WAINWRIGHT

Seventh Rector

man and the Broad Churchman found no tolerance. But the preacher was one whom all men honored, whose strong moral force impressed the young and old, whose sturdy independence was like a strong east wind, and who went to his reward crowned with the love of many and the respect of all. It seems but yesterday that his familiar figure passed away. His voice is still fresh in our ears. The old Church comes back, and he stands there in its pulpit, as he must always stand, among the most marked and vigorous figures in our parish history. It would not be right to renew our Church life without cordial remembrance of his strength and faithfulness. To him, too, we will give a window in our chancel; and between the memories of Parker and Gardiner, the memory of Eastburn shall shine, the central memory of the Church he served so long.

Bishop Eastburn's ministry was illustrated by a line of assistants who, among the foremost men of our Episcopal Church, have done much for the parish, and left their memory among us. Dr. Watson, Bishop Clark, Dr. John Cotton Smith, Dr. Mercer, Dr. Potter, have won successively the confidence and grateful recollection of the parish.

My story is almost done. What has come since the resignation of Bishop Eastburn in 1868 is yet too new for history. They are years that always must be memorable. The first talk of the removal, the discussions that ensued, the first study of plans in the spring of 1872, the fire that swept the old Church off at four o'clock on the morning of that terrible Sunday the 10th of November of the same year, the driving of the first piles here in 1873, the long summer months of work and winter months of waiting and thinking, the worship of the parish in the hospitable Technological Hall, the patience and faith and generosity of the people, and finally, the noble liberality which, in these last weeks, has paid for the great work which had been done, and then the Consecration of last Friday, all these he who shall preach the sermon in this house,

then grown venerable with mellowing time, a hundred years from to-day, will gather up with reverent hand, as I have gathered now the story of the century and a half that is already gone. It is mine only to note with thankfulness, which I cannot express, the glorious consummation of our hopes, and in one word to indicate that which no accumulation of words could tell,—the endless debt of this parish to those who for five anxious years have given their time and care, almost their whole lives, to the great labor.

I cannot resist the temptation to lay my remembrance on the grave of him who was with us when our work began, and whose death was the great loss which added new darkness to our darkest days. I would fain associate the name of Mr. Dexter with the opening of this new Church, which he saw in faith and for which he so cordially labored and hoped. But it is our Building Committee, and the other members of that body will only echo my feeble tribute when I say that it is the Executive Committee of three, to whom, under God, the coming generations of this parish will owe their dear and noble Church, and toward whom we all bear a debt of gratitude to-day which nothing ever can begin to pay. May God's blessing be on them, as they see the great completion of their labors.

The noble structure shall speak the genius of the architect. Its glowing walls declare the artist's inspiration. Its unshaken solidity proclaim the builder's skill and care, but only the gratitude of the people's hearts and the good work that shall be done here, can rightly honor the devotion of those who so long have been the wise and willing servants of the parish.

And so I close this hurried sketch of the long history of Trinity. I look back from this pulpit where I stand to-day, and all this is behind us. I see those who have gone before me, and their ministries come crowding round me when I speak. I see the congregations of the past, and the long-vanished pews in which they sat. And out of all there rises up one strong im-

pression which covers all the history. For that impression I thank God in the name of Trinity. It is an impression of manly vigor; of strenuous, faithful character. Men may read over this history which we have to show them, and say that they miss this or that, but one thing every man who reads must find there. It is full of manliness. These men of whom I have spoken to you this morning were real men. Davenport, Hooper, Walter, Parker, Gardiner, Eastburn, they all had strong convictions, true honesty, independent hearts. There is not one of them that did not say the thing he thought. There is not one breath of cant in all our history. There is no weak spot of unreality, or fantasticalness, or nonsense, anywhere. And so it seems to be no unfit thing that the architecture of our parish, whether in the old Church in Summer street, or in this new and noble temple, should be of the strong, and solid, and massive sort. There has been little that was light and graceful, little of the inspired speculation of genius or of the play of frolicsome fancy in our annals. It has been the sturdy, genuine strength of sense and character. Men whom other men learned to respect, have given the parish a strong though quiet power in the community. It is in this true ring, this sense of genuine and generous humanity, this strong, live, human healthiness, that the clearest impression of our parish lies. On its sound manliness the power of godliness has shone, and made it good to look back upon, as we look back upon it now, in its clear, intelligible, robust, straightforward dignity.

With so much character and common sense, acting within that wide comprehensiveness which is the life and glory of our Church, it is not strange that our parish should have borne witness in itself of the changes in the world of thought and action which went on all about her. She had her men of the eighteenth century, of its first half and its second half, so different from one another. She has had her men of the nineteenth century too. She had for her minister one of the representative evangelical men of our Church in this country.

She is ready for whatever newest and truest view of His truth God may manifest to His people in the years to come. She was the only Church of our communion in Boston where a patriot could pray during the Revolution. Nor did her pulpit fail of its duty in the war of the Rebellion. Men have called her the very pattern of conservatism. But as I look back upon her history, I see in her a true conformity to the varying times. Not the conformity of a weathercock, which shifts with every zephyr, but the conformity of the deep laden ship, that feels the profound tide, and knows the difference between it and the ripples which are on the surface of the wave.

And to-day I do not believe that there is any congregation in our town which, having positive convictions of the Christian truths, is more ready, nay, more earnestly waiting for fuller light, for richer, deeper knowledge of our Lord than it has yet attained, than is this Church of ours. That is what we want,—strong, deep convictions which are unshakable, and then a glad and constant expectation of new and richer light from God forever; a perfect assurance of the safety of the ship in which we sail, and then a perfect willingness to sail into whatever new seas God may open to us; an absolute certainty of the sufficiency of Christ, and then a passionate desire that no Christ of our own fancy may satisfy us, that He may show Himself to us more and more completely as He really is; the rock under our feet and the limitless air over our heads. O, let us pray that both may become more perfect to us in our new career, the rock more solid and the air more vast, the truths we hold more certain and more precious; the hope of more light on those truths, the watchfulness for deeper revelations of God, more vigilant and eager. Those be our prayers:—More strength; more light. More constancy; more progress.

Again, I have mistold the story of the parish, unless you have seen that in it there has been a continual presence of earnest piety. That has been the real unity of our parish life through

all its changes. The man of the nineteenth century thinks very differently from the man of the eighteenth, but the love with which he worships God, is the same love. The Evangelical has different dogmas from the old Georgian Churchman, but they bow before the same mercy-seat and resist the same temptations by the same grace. We can conceive of a parish going on, the same parish still, though thought shall change and all religious speculation flow in new channels. But if men's souls cease to repent, and trust, and live by the divine communion, all is gone; the Church is dead; the spiritual building crumbles in decay. There has been no such time with us. Always there has been prayer and faith. The stream of belief seems, perhaps, sometimes to run very thin, but always it is there, with strength to widen and deepen when God's time shall come.

It was not far from the time when this Church was founded, that Bishop Butler wrote in England words which seem strange, I think, to us as we read them now. He said, "It has come to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much a matter of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." And, after all that, see what life came out of what men called dead. A great many people are saying now what people used to say in Bishop Butler's day, but it is no truer now than it was then. The signs of spiritual revival are already in the air and in the sky. It must be the piety, the love and faith of Christian men and women, the religion of the Churches, that runs through all times and makes the unbroken line to which the departures always return, and round which all the revivals congregate.

And, yet once more, everyone can see who reads our history, how truly ours has always been a parish Church. A body of worshipers, bound together by the habits of their worship, knowing each other as the people of the same Trinity Church, bearing one another's burdens, sharing one another's joys, baptized, confirmed, married, and hoping to be buried in the old parish Church,—this, the people who have called this

Church their Church, have always been. Nay, more than this. There are few parishes where the hereditary chains are so many and so strong. To many and many a worshiper, this parish is dear because it is where his fathers worshiped. The names that stand on our pew roll to-day repeat, in very large degree, the names of those whose good deeds stand thick along our records, and at whose entrance into the higher life our Church both sorrowed and rejoiced.

I am very thankful for this. I would not have, and I am sure that you would not have, our close connection and our historical associations broken. We are a parish. We will not degenerate and dissipate into an audience. Very sacred is our relation to each other. But I know that you will more than accept under the great, glowing, all-embracing hospitality of this bounteous roof, you will enthusiastically assert, that such a Church as this, has no right to exist, or to think that it exists, for any limited company who own its pews. It would not be a Christian parish if it harbored such a thought. No, let the world come in. Let all men hear, if they will, the truths we love. Let no soul go unsaved through any selfishness of ours. These galleries set free forever, and the assurance of what larger welcome may be needed and may be in our power to supply, bear witness that our Church accepts her responsibilities, and will try to speak the Gospel of the Lord she loves to all who will come and hear.

These ideas are more familiar and more pressing in our days, than they were in our fathers'. Through our fathers' wisdom and devotion, we must become wiser and more devoted than they. Friends, we must rise to thoughts beyond our fathers, or we are not our fathers' worthy children. Not to do in our days just what our fathers did long ago, but to live as truly up to our light as our fathers lived up to theirs,—that is what it is to be worthy of our fathers. The Church has new standards, new ambitions, new ideas of work. This is the modern notion of a Church,—not luxury, but work. God help us to cast off

every thing old and avoid every thing new which can keep our Church from doing perfectly that great work which we can hear our Lord calling her to do for Him.

And so may the Lord our God be with us as He was with our fathers. Let Him not leave us nor forsake us. In all the happy light of this first Sunday, let us bind ourselves anew together, as minister and people, and then as a grateful parish devote ourselves anew to Him. May He teach us of His Fatherhood. May He give us the salvation of His Son. May He fill us with His Holy Spirit. And so make this Church the Church of the Trinity forever.

III

RT. REV. MANTON EASTBURN, D.D.

Eighth Rector of Trinity Church

1842–1868

BY RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D.

Bishop of Massachusetts, 1893–1927

Manton Eastburn

GOOD old Bishop Griswold, who had patiently and with the utmost devotion travelled over the Eastern Diocese for a generation, was beginning to feel his years: indeed his vitality was ebbing, and it is no wonder. From Rhode Island, through Massachusetts including Berkshire, through Maine and New Hampshire, occasionally entering Vermont, he had travelled by team, stagecoach, and open sleigh in summer and winter: putting up in taverns, entertained by kind people in frigid spare rooms, eating such fare as was put before him. In later years the railroads provided him with a quicker but jolting transit, with cars overheated by a red-hot stove at either end, and a roof so low that one could touch it. The churches too, with rare exceptions, were poorly constructed; the organs, where there were such, were wheezy, and the blower boy was sometimes late or absent; the choir, a quartette, feeling its own importance upon the visitation, gave to the bishop and not to the Lord their sonorous anthems and voices; the confirmation classes were small; and the people, having driven in from the country in the brisk air, were heavy with sleep as they felt the close atmosphere of the church. However, on he went from week to week, and after long absences rested at his own fireside.

He was a pastor indeed, and was beloved by all: a man of peace and religious spirit; he had but little interest in the theological battles roaring about him, especially in the orthodox and liberal congregations throughout New England; nor could his temper be stirred by the clashes of the Evangelicals and the supporters of the Oxford, Tractarian, or High Church movements. They were fought out in England, and England was far away across the Atlantic.

Hence, in 1842, at the annual Diocesan Convention, he asked that he might have an assistant. Influential Churchmen, especially in Boston, conferred upon the subject: the support of

a second bishop was a serious matter, and a happy solution was arrived at whereby Trinity Parish, Boston, would elect the assistant bishop as its rector, and thus relieve the diocese of a large part of its financial burden, it being understood that for the present an assistant to the rector would undertake such duties as would enable the new bishop to make his visitations and meet his other episcopal responsibilities. These were very moderate compared with the present duties of bishops. Inasmuch as for lack of a bishop in these Colonies and until after the Revolution there had never been a confirmation, and excepting those who had been confirmed in England before their immigration there was not a confirmed person in all the churches, the communicants were unconfirmed, though ready to be confirmed; hence there was by general consent little pressure for annual confirmations: indeed Bishop Parker, second bishop of the diocese, and also rector of Trinity Church, died two months after his consecration having never performed an episcopal act.

If the new bishop was to be rector of Trinity Church as well as bishop he must be such a man as would commend himself to the city people as well as those in the smaller towns, a strong preacher and agreeable in social life.

There was at that time in New York a man rising in the people's favor as preacher and leader, Manton Eastburn. He was born in Leeds, England, February 9, 1801, and had come with his parents to the United States when twelve years of age, and almost immediately had entered Columbia College. A college student twelve years old was exceptional, but not so much so as we would now think, for Columbia was then little more than a high school. He graduated in 1817, at sixteen, and later went to the General Theological Seminary, and was ordained in 1822.

After serving as assistant minister of Christ Church, New York, he became the rector of the Church of the Ascension. There were evidently features in his personality which made

RT. REV. MANTON EASTBURN

Eighth Rector

his preaching and pastoral offices peculiarly attractive. It was somewhat of a refreshment to people who had only known the tone and language of a raw country to listen to an English enunciation and style: for in these and some other respects Manton Eastburn never ceased to be an Englishman. He was handsome, very straight and firm, indeed rather stiff in carriage; he had the full sonorous voice which in those days became a pulpit orator; he could quote the classics and speak in a natural and familiar way of England's men and scenery, which always warms the hearts of intelligent Americans. He brought with him also a vivid interest in the issues which at the time were rending the Church of England in pieces: for the Church of England has a habit of being rent in pieces every one or two generations, and yet manages to survive and even thrive.

The churches in New England had been torn asunder by the Orthodox and Unitarian battles; New Yorkers, especially those from New England, had an academic interest in these. But New York had more Churchmen and greater interest in ecclesiastical discussions; even they, however, could not get heated upon the subject until Mr. Eastburn came among them. He had no doubt as to where he stood upon the issues of the English Church. The Tractarian movement was of Rome, the work of Satan: if allowed to continue it would destroy the Evangelical faith and tradition which had descended from the Reformation; and while suasion had its place, condemnation and even force must be brought to bear to silence these advocates of the Dark Ages and followers of the Scarlet Woman.

Such sentiments spoken by a man of deep convictions, in vivid and dramatic style, were what the Churchmen of New York wanted: these teachings confirmed their faith, upheld the Reformation, and convinced the people that the Episcopal Church could represent history, tradition, dignity, ritual, and also the standard of the Reformation — justification, not by works or by ritual, but by faith.

The preacher was just over forty years of age, in his prime,

and rising in influence. Hence, when his name was presented at the Diocesan Convention in 1842, he was immediately and unanimously elected assistant bishop.

A house which happened to be next door to that of my father in Pemberton Square was rented for him, and in my father's diary I find: "I went to see Dr. Eastburn on his arrival. He appears as he did last summer, a polished, handsome man of forty: but his great excellence is his high religious feeling and uniform consistency, and constancy in labor to promote the cause of true piety. His wife is an invalid."

Trinity Parish had elected him to its rectorship on October 9, 1842, a position which he held until July 1, 1868. He was consecrated bishop in Trinity Church on December 29, 1842.

In less than two months, on February 15, 1843, Bishop Griswold died. My father from his window saw the old man wading through the heavy snow toward Bishop Eastburn's house; he fell upon the steps. My father and others ran out, carried him into the house and laid him upon the parlor floor wrapped in his cloak; in a few minutes his heart which had carried him through many years of heavy work ceased beating, and he fell asleep.

Bishop Eastburn now entered upon his duties as bishop of the diocese and rector of Trinity Parish; to the latter he gave a large part of his time and strength, usually preaching on Sunday morning, and making many pastoral calls. While he was faithful in confirmations, his office work was comparatively light. In those days a bishop was not expected to be an administrator; the people of the parishes, being in a Congregational atmosphere, were rather independent in spirit and practice: there were but few missions in the diocese, and no diocesan societies. Apart from attending the General Convention every three years, a bishop had little responsibility for the work of the general Church. The Missionary societies in New York carried on all their correspondence with the rectors,

leaving the bishop serenely ignorant of the amounts of contributions, and the efforts to obtain them.

Had it not been for the assistants upon the Greene Foundation of Trinity Parish, the bishop would have been unable to retain both offices; and helpful as they were, they and the bishop did not always dwell together in unity. Trouble soon broke out. The Rev. John Lee Watson had been assistant for six years when Bishop Eastburn took charge. The bishop became suspicious that Mr. Watson was not in entire sympathy with the new regime and its order of service, and soon protested to the vestry. But Mr. Watson was highly regarded by the people, and the bishop had accepted the rectorship knowing well that Mr. Watson had been there six years and expected to remain. Those were days of pamphleteering, when men sat at their desks and wrote extended arguments. Four pages of very fine print appeared from bishop to assistant, and assistant to bishop; then the vestry took a hand and a pamphlet of forty pages followed with the result that in 1846 the Rev. Mr. Watson thought it expedient to resign.

The Rev. Thomas March Clark succeeded in 1847. He was at this time one of the leading young preachers in the Congregational Church. He once told me that as a Congregational minister he preached in the Old South Meeting House one Sunday, and the very next Sunday as an Episcopal clergyman in Trinity Church. He was a strong preacher, and while most clergymen of that day, including his chief, used the stilted academic style of the Anglican communion, Mr. Clark used vigorous and sometimes racy English; in later years he was one of the most popular lecturers and newspaper writers. I have forgotten most sermons preached to me in the last seventy years, but I can now recall his beautiful, sonorous voice, his striking illustrations, and his allusions so full of humor as to cause a smile even among the most strait-laced of the congregation. He was a man of tender sympathy, keen wit, intellectual cour-

age, and even to his old age kept to the fore in intellectual interests: and yet was of the most simple, pastoral spirit. He must have been of great help to Bishop Eastburn in holding the loyalty to the parish of the younger generation, who found the English manner and style of the bishop unreal. He served four years as assistant upon the Greene Foundation. Some years later, in 1854, he was consecrated Bishop of Rhode Island. He adorned that office for almost half a century, and was for many years the Presiding Bishop of the Church. Devoted to his young friend Phillips Brooks during his rectorship, Bishop Clark stood loyally by Brooks, when, elected to be Bishop of Massachusetts, efforts were made to prevent his consecration. He presented Brooks in the service of consecration, and took part in his burial in 1893. He lived on to present me at my consecration, and died in September, 1903.

Another young clergyman of promise, the Rev. John Cotton Smith, became assistant in 1852. On fire with the Gospel, he preached with eloquence of a very different type from that of his predecessor. His sermons had a poetic and imaginative note. In his pastoral work, as well as in the pulpit, by his breadth of outlook and open mind he was in many respects the complement of the bishop, and, like Mr. Clark, helped to hold and lead the younger generation. Lacking, however, a sense of humor, he could not endure with serenity some of the little autocratic ways and biddings of the bishop: the inner councils of the two were not always happy, and in 1859 Mr. Smith accepted a call to the rectorship of the Church of the Ascension, New York, from which Bishop Eastburn had come seventeen years before. Here he became a power in spiritual leadership and breadth of thought in New York and beyond.

During the next three years the Rev. Alexander G. Mercer was assistant upon the Greene Foundation, serving with faithfulness, and giving support to his chief.

The services of Trinity Church, indeed of almost all the parishes in the diocese, were, as compared with those of to-

day, infrequent and simple. We must remember that the home was the center of religious life: family prayers were common; the children were taught to pray, and the table talk often turned on religious subjects. Social life centered in the homes of friends and neighbors: there were no parish houses, and usually but one parish society, the Women's Missionary Society.

On a Sunday morning the Sunday school met in the church or chapel. Each class occupied one or two pews, and the teacher, leaning over the back of the pew in front, taught the class as best he could. At half past ten the congregation assembled in their pews in the church, for families went as families, and occupied the pews which they owned or rented. Of strangers there were few, and they were diverted to the galleries. The religious habits of Boston were settled, and the people in those times knew to what parish they belonged. The organ was in the gallery in the rear of the church, and the choir, a quartette or double quartette, was far above the congregation, which joined in singing the hymns. The canticles and *Te Deum* were the property of the choir. The rector entered the chancel by a door at the side, and went to the reading desk, which was a large piece of furniture holding prayer books, hymn book, and Bible. Facing the congregation, he knelt in silent prayer while the people, having each offered his silent prayer on entering, sat waiting in their pews. There was no processional, but a reverent and dignified silence, broken by the clergyman speaking the opening sentences, followed by the "Dearly Beloved Brethren," and the rest of Morning Prayer. Then came the Litany and the Ante Communion service. During the next hymn, the rector retired to the robing room to exchange his surplice, which was very ample and long (cassocks being unknown), for a preacher's black gown. He mounted the pulpit steps while the choir and congregation were still singing, knelt in silent prayer, and then, the hymn being ended, he gave out his text and preached, always from a manuscript; for

sermons without notes were unknown or associated with laziness or a great orator. There was no invocation or prayer before the sermon; after the ascription, he went back to the chancel, gave out another hymn, and after a collect and benediction retired to the robing room while the organ played. The congregation then dispersed.

The Lord's Supper was administered on the first Sunday morning of each month, after the Morning Prayer, the Litany being omitted. There may have been two or three parishes in the diocese which had an early celebration of the Holy Communion; indeed the word "celebration" was rarely used, and a fasting Communion was almost unknown. Those people went to the Lord's Supper once each month with a deep sense of responsibility. On the preceding evening, the communicants went to a lecture of preparation for the Lord's Supper; in their private morning prayers they had asked for an increase of God's Spirit. After the Prayer for Christ's Church Militant, the non-communicants and the children, of whom there were many in the family pews, quietly went out. When the communicants stood and the rector read the long exhortation and short charge, there were an intensity of spirit and a concentration of attention which were most moving. There was too a consciousness of spiritual power in the large company which, with the reception of the consecrated bread and wine, lifted the character of each communicant and of the whole parish. After the benediction, they went out upon the street and to their homes a vital and spiritual people.

The parish expenses were defrayed by the systematic payment of the pew taxes or rentals, which came to the people once a month with their other bills. This method released the parish from the continual taking of collections. At the monthly Communion service alms were asked and given for the poor of the parish, and on the third Sunday morning of the month there was a collection for some special purpose,

foreign, or domestic or diocesan missions, the aged clergy, and the widows and orphans of the clergy.

In most of the parishes there was a Wednesday or Friday evening prayer and a lecture, for the saints' days, coming at irregular intervals, were found to be inconvenient; these week-day services drew larger congregations than is customary to-day on saints' days. Rectors whose time is now broken by a multiplication of services for a few of the elect, who, yielding to parish social demands have become purveyors of amusements for young people and games for boys' clubs, may well envy their predecessor who, under former conditions, had time to prepare his sermons and lectures, and call afternoons and evenings upon his people as their pastor and spiritual counsellor.

The bishop was beginning to feel the weight of his years and work, and from time to time expressed a wish to be released from the rectorship that he might give his full strength to the diocese; but the diocese was still unable to pay his whole salary.

As I recall those years, Bishop Eastburn is to me a rather pathetic figure; for he was often at my father's house, and he received me as a postulant when, a year after my graduation from Harvard, I called upon him to offer myself for the ministry. He was even then a man of fine presence, virile, upstanding, outspoken, with courage and a very tender heart; but he was still an Englishman to the core, unconsciously unable to adapt himself to New England conditions: and he had brought with him from England a hostility to anything that smacked of ritualism, High Churchism, or Puseyism. From several directions, social and ecclesiastical, the edges of his temperament were continually rubbed and frayed. I can see him now returning from his afternoon ride on horseback. In those days most gentlemen in riding wore a tall hat, a frock coat, and straps under the feet to hold their pants from riding up. But

Bishop Eastburn, having left his horse after his ride at the Charles Street stable, walked up Beacon Street wearing a sort of jockey cap, a shooting jacket, and yellow leggings, carrying his crop and lash under his arm as jauntily as an English jockey. The conventional citizens, seeing him, asked why the bishop should dress in that queer way; and the answer came: "He is an Englishman." The fathers of boys in those days were trying to keep their sons from smoking, which was associated with barrooms. How disconcerting, then, was it to have the bishop after confirming in some rural parish, after dining with the wardens, proceed to light a cigar and smoke it in the presence of the very boys upon whom he had laid hands. How could parental discipline be sustained?

Bishop Eastburn had convictions and courage which, admirable as they were, led him into frequent disagreements with some of the clergy and laity, especially of the Church of the Advent, Boston, which was introducing ritual and teaching from the Puseyites of England of the sort the bishop had been taught to abhor. His correspondence with the officers of that parish fills a pamphlet of 123 pages. In a letter to the clergy of the diocese, published in the *Christian Witness* of December 5, 1845, Bishop Eastburn said: "On Nov. 23, I visited the ch. of the Advent, for confirmation, and there observed, to my inexpressible grief and pain, various offensive innovations upon the ancient usage of our Church. In the form of the Communion Table; in the decorations of golden candlesticks, and of a large wooden cross, by which it is surmounted; and in the postures used in front of it by the Assistant Minister. . . . I perceived with sorrow superstitious puerilities. . . . Were these novelties nothing more than childish, they would be on that account sufficiently objectionable to call forth my censure . . . but chiefly do I consider these innovations . . . because of their pointed and offensive resemblance to the usages of that Idolatrous Papal Communion against which our own Prayer Book so strongly protests." Such missives did not make

for peace, and some of his closest friends, both clergy and lay, urged him to desist; but his sense of duty was clear and strong. And of course such harassments affected his ministry as rector of Trinity Church.

He was a man of simplicity, and yearned to reach the hearts of the people. His sermons were carefully prepared and beautifully written almost like copperplate, but his sermonic style was verbose and sometimes bombastic. After the congregation had listened to the vigorous English of an assistant, the Rev. Mr. Clark or Cotton Smith, their sense of humor was aroused by such passages as these: "We are now assembled in a sacred edifice where we periodically meet together; where we have regularly met in the past; similar buildings stand in various parts of the metropolis." Or: "Our Lord and Redeemer was about to go into Galilee to commence his ministry among the people. He had been brought into acquaintance with a man named Philip: and happening just at this time to fall into company with this man, commands his personal attendance upon him during his intended journey." Such phrases were repeated at the Sunday dinners after service, and in the afternoon the boys and girls repeated them to their friends in the sonorous voice of the preacher.

Nevertheless, the bishop, consecrated in spirit, always a gentleman, dignified and a bit pompous, met duty after duty, confirmed and ordained, knelt by the bedside of the sick, and won the loyalty of those who found in him a tender heart and loyal Churchman. His wife, who had become mentally ill, was taken to an asylum, and he passed his evenings by the fireside alone.

Fortunately, the next assistant upon the Greene Foundation, the Rev. Henry C. Potter, had such regard for the bishop's finer characteristics, and such a sense of humor, that the two could work happily together, and gradually the assistant took over most of the parish duties. Their first dinner together was characteristic: at its close the bishop rather hesitatingly offered his

new assistant a cigar, saying as he did so: "Mr. Potter, I presume you do not smoke," for Henry Potter's father, Bishop Alonzo Potter, was a leader in campaigns against wine drinking and smoking. As the cigar was accepted, Bishop Eastburn remarked with great satisfaction: "I was afraid that you had inherited the detestable prejudices of your father."

Henry Potter did the parish a great service in bringing into it by his preaching and teaching a fresh conception of the relation of the Church and the Christian faith to society. Hitherto, the Evangelical note of individual salvation had been emphasized. Potter was an Evangelical, but he was also touched with the social message of the Gospel, and by a liberal and modern spirit unconsciously prepared the way for the message of the next rector, Phillips Brooks.

In April, 1868, Potter accepted a call to the rectorship of Grace Church, New York. In July, Bishop Eastburn resigned his rectorship, and gave himself to his diocesan work. Four years later, on September 12, 1872, this high-minded, humble, and often misunderstood bishop fell asleep, and was buried from Trinity Church.

IV

REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D.

Ninth Rector of Trinity Church

1869–1891

BY RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D.

Bishop of Massachusetts, 1893–1927

TRINITY CHURCH, SUMMER STREET

Opened in 1829; burned in 1872

Phillips Brooks*

THE resignation of Bishop Eastburn left Trinity Parish in a critical condition. Business had moved up from the harbor; blocks and shops surrounded the church; dwelling houses had been torn down and gardens desolated. Most of the parishioners had moved on to Beacon Hill, and some had gone across the Common to the "filled-in land" west of what was to be the Public Garden. St. Paul's Church on Tremont Street was convenient to dwellers on Beacon Hill, and Emmanuel Church, built only five years before on Newbury Street under the leadership of the active and popular rector, Dr. Frederic Dan Huntington, was attracting the younger generation. A Sunday school was almost out of the question at Trinity: the church and such equipment as there was were unattractive and inconvenient.

The wardens and vestry were very anxious. The name of one man was on everybody's lips as the only one who could lead Trinity out of its hazardous condition: young Phillips Brooks, rector of Holy Trinity, Philadelphia. Coming to the Church of the Advent, Philadelphia, direct from the seminary, his preaching had won such admiration that upon the resignation of the great Alexander H. Vinton from the rectorship of Holy Trinity, Brooks, who was then only twenty-six years old, had been called as a matter of course. That parish was now perhaps the largest and most vigorous of any in the whole Church, with two Sunday schools and scores of workers, young and loyal. He had become one of the most influential citizens of Philadelphia. A great work was in his hands and a great future opening. What had Trinity Parish, Boston, to offer him? A down-town, substantial but rather gloomy stone church; an even more gloomy chapel; a small Sunday school and a company of loyal Churchmen, most of whom were of

* In this chapter I have drawn freely from my *Life of Phillips Brooks*, published by Harper & Bros., 1930.

middle age or well along in years. On the other hand, he was a Boston boy, a Latin School boy and a Harvard graduate. Three years before, when he was only twenty-nine years old, Harvard had called him back to offer the prayer on the great day of commemoration of the graduates who fell in the Civil War, and his prayer at that time had made a more marked impression than James Russell Lowell's Commemoration Ode. His father was a Brooks of Medford, of the best Massachusetts stock, and his mother was a Phillips of Andover, than whom there was nothing finer. The former a Unitarian and the latter a stanch orthodox Congregationalist, they had compromised on the Episcopal Church, St. Paul's Church on Tremont Street, where, under the rectorship of Dr. John S. Stone, they heard the Gospel liberally and evangelically interpreted. There Mr. and Mrs. Brooks with their six boys worshipped; at this time four of them had entered the ministry or were headed toward it, and one had died in the Civil War. Would these influences bring Phillips Brooks back to Boston? Could he allow them to outweigh his present great work?

Without him as their leader the wardens and vestry saw a desolate future for Trinity. Their clear duty was to call him and bring every legitimate influence to bear to induce him to come. The wardens talked with him while he was on a visit at Newport; Mr. Robert C. Winthrop and a host of others wrote to him; his father and brothers urged his acceptance; and, more than all, his mother wrote: "I *must* tell you *how glad* I should be if you should decide to accept it, how pleasant it seems to think of getting you back again, *how much* I hope you will come. Trinity is certainly a great field for usefulness. It needs a powerful man to make it a live Church, and I believe you are peculiarly fitted for the work, and I humbly rejoice that I have such a son to give to it."

Early in September came his answer declining the call. The senior warden, Mr. George M. Dexter, wrote him: "Yours putting an end to all our hopes, came duly at hand." "... What we

shall do I have not the least idea." His mother wrote: "We are all stunned and saddened. We have indulged the proud hope of seeing you change wasted and suffering Trinity into a fruitful field." Two days later she wrote again: "Remember you are a Boston boy yet, and owe her a debt. I pray you may be able to pay it in my lifetime."

And so the disappointed and wounded parish limped through the dreary winter of 1868–1869, some of the officers and people nourishing the forlorn hope that Brooks might reconsider and come. But there was no apparent ground for their hopes; his uniform answer to questions was: "I am not the man for Trinity."

Meanwhile Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, rejoiced and flourished. Every department of work and worship was stimulated by the decision, and Brooks himself preached buoyantly. That very Christmas of 1868, responding to an offer from the Sunday school organist that if Brooks would write a carol, he would compose the music for it, he threw his thought back to his visit in Palestine two years before, and in Holy Trinity on Christmas Eve the carol rang out: "O little town of Bethlehem."

But something had happened. He was unaware of it, and so were others. He had preached once in Trinity, Boston: he had been in his old home and had breathed again the spiritual and intellectual air of New England. He missed something in Philadelphia. Problems of faith and life were being discussed at home and in Harvard College which did not press before him in Philadelphia. Some inner voice whispered to him that he might help his own people in New England to meet the problems. His mother's words may have haunted him. But there was no sign anywhere of a change of sentiment.

The officers of Trinity, however, were undaunted. In January Mr. Winthrop wrote reopening the question, and while Brooks responded that he saw no possibility of changing his decision, his tone was different from that of the autumn. In

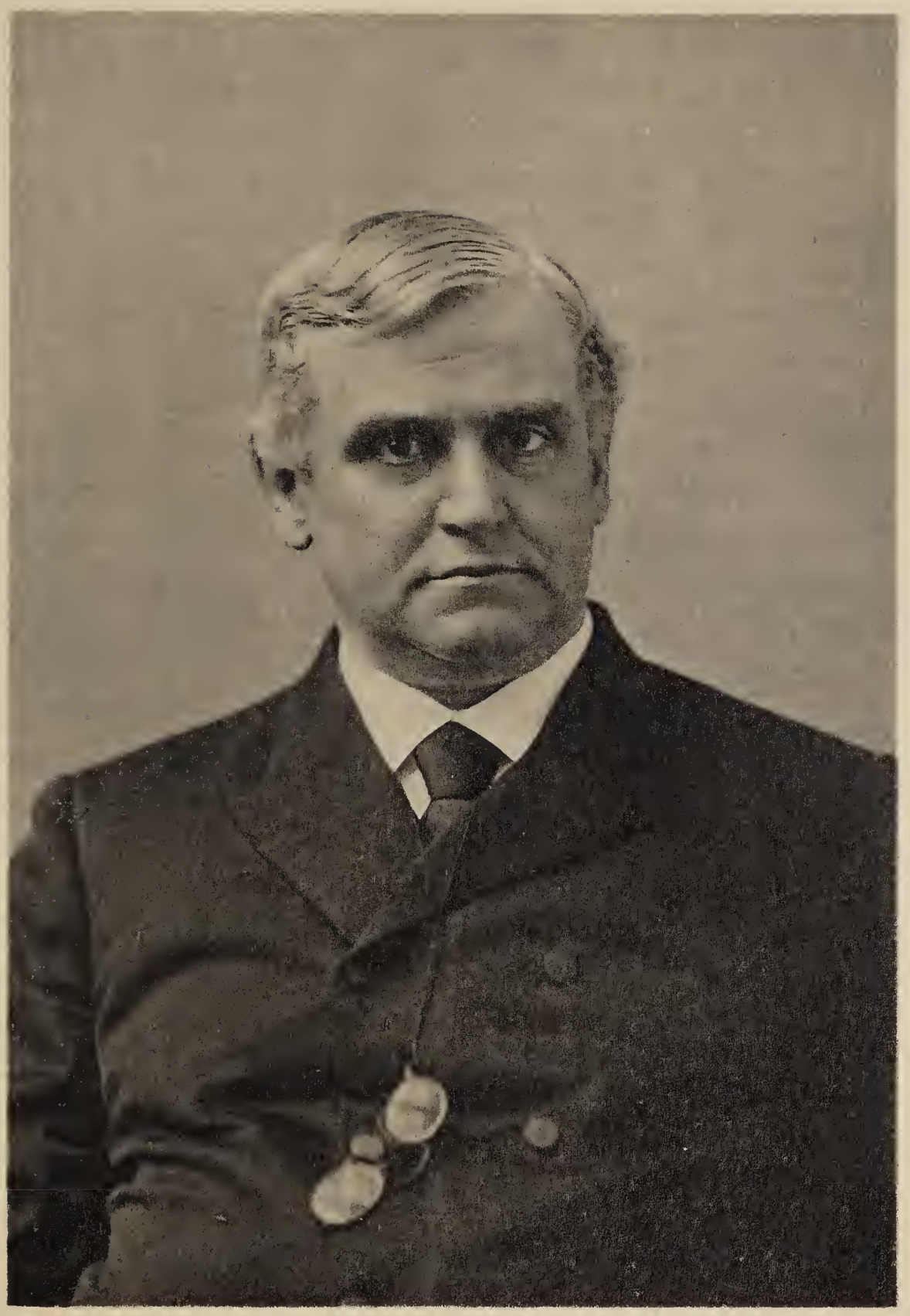
May he preached the Diocesan Convention sermon in Philadelphia, and his stay there seemed assured.

In June Mr. Dexter went to Philadelphia, and on his return a sudden meeting of the vestry took place. On July 6, Phillips Brooks was again called, and at the end of the month accepted.

On Sunday, October 24, after a rectorship of eight years, he preached his last sermon in Holy Trinity, and on the very next Sunday preached his first as rector of Trinity, Boston, from the text, St. John IX. 4, 5: "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work."

Although the congregation on that Sunday was exceptionally large for Trinity, and the welcome of the loyal people was warm, the cheerless condition of the parish, the feeble Sunday school, the lack of young people and of parish activities must have given him a chill. Indeed, he was personally a stranger in his home city except to his immediate family and a few of his old friends, for he had known Boston only as a boy and student. He had failed as a teacher in the Boston Latin School, and after a few months had been forced to resign. Since then his life had been in Alexandria, Virginia, and in Philadelphia. Sensitive as he was to affection and understanding, his letters back to Philadelphia were often those of homesickness; and keen shafts of humor at the provincialism of the Bostonese gave him an outlet of expression.

In his deeper thought, however, he was convinced that his decision was right. His Philadelphia life, away from the criticism and partiality of family and boyhood friends, the Civil War, the exhilarating Church atmosphere of that day and the great congregations, had developed certain of his powers as a man and preacher. New England was different: provincial in a way it was true, but its intellectual life, its culture, had permeated the country; it was still a power. There were opportunities for spiritual leadership near the sources of the coming thought which might open up opportunities for the preacher.



REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS

Ninth Rector

And so he settled down for his life work. In the first two years he wrote very few new sermons: he preached his old ones; but in his week-day evening addresses he gave his fresher thought; he read and studied; he observed, and in talk and on the street got his bearings, so that when he was really settled in the work he could think and speak confidently. He was averse to scattering his interests, but concentrated his thought and strength upon his work as preacher and pastor: he was first and always the rector of Trinity Parish, of which from beginning to end he was very proud, ever loyal to its best traditions. Parish problems came thick and fast; the leading one soon became dominant. How was it possible for old Trinity to do the work it ought to do in its present church and on its down-town site? He had doubtless asked and answered that question to himself before accepting the call, but he said nothing for two or three months. Then its answer became clear enough to him and a few counsellors to broach the question to the parish, and to lead their thoughts and anticipations to the Back Bay. For on the west of the Public Garden, the gravel of Needham's Hills had been hauled and dumped into the "Back Bay," which was now a desert of dirt, dust, mud, and wind. Streets had been laid out upon the city map, and could be recognized as mere gravel on a level four feet higher than the lots. One large unnamed square was evidently going to be a center of population and traffic, a plaza for great buildings. After much study and discussion the parish bought the eastern lot which, surrounded by streets, offered ample approach and light and which, facing the square, would give the church dignity and offer an open view of the west front to the public. In the proposed plan for removal there were many questions to be settled, legal and practical, and an act of the Legislature was needed; a generally conservative and timid temper, and a small but rather hot minority of opposition had to be overcome. There was also much money to be raised in addition to that which might accrue from the sale of the old lot and church.

Meanwhile the pews of old Trinity were filling; conservative ladies, who were accustomed to shut and button their pew doors and pray in peace and isolation, found it difficult to keep the people out: the spirit of the parish was growing in favor of hospitality to strangers. To be sure the sexton Dillon had his own traditions, and told the newcomers that the poor must go up into the gallery. But how could he protect the pew owners and keep the number of strangers down? Brooks tells us: "Dillon's fertile mind discovered a way to reduce the number. He once came to the Vestry room to tell me of a method he had devised for the purpose. When a young man and a young woman came together, he separated them, and he expected me to approve the fiendish plan." In the afternoon, members of other churches of all denominations walked across the Common, down Winter Street, and entered Trinity on the left of Summer Street.

The rector well knew that a parish could not be built up by their admiration of the preacher: there must be the steady upbuilding of a reasonable faith and loyal Church life. Hence he began immediately his Wednesday evening lectures, and sent to Philadelphia for the desk which he had used there. Throughout the winter on every Wednesday evening, groups of people walked across the ill-lighted Common, down the silent Winter and Summer streets, passed through a narrow alley beside the church, lighted by one flickering gas lantern, and entering a square, drab parish hall, sat on benches. Here, after a short service, Brooks expounded a parable, a miracle, or a paragraph taken from the Bible, for exactly thirty minutes. I often timed him; and learned afterward with what exactness he had laid out his plan, his subject and divisions. I have before me as I write a number of his notes in beautiful handwriting, all well ordered, and with evident movement of thought. Those were the years when, through *Ecce Homo* and Farrar's *Life of Christ* as well as Dean Stanley's work, the Scriptures, the Holy Land, the history of the Jews, and the incidents and meaning

of Christ's life were gaining a significance and popularity undreamed of. Christian people of to-day have no conception of the stilted and unreal characters put over young people sixty years ago as patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. Brooks clothed all this material and thought in such warm and picturesque language that his people gained a fresh conception of the reality of the Gospel. Every thought led up to spiritual interpretations of the incidents, and young as well as old hung upon the familiar stories and facts, the spiritual truths, which he enforced, and could not forget them. The people at those lectures were the founders of the new and great Trinity.

On December 3, 1870, fourteen months after Brooks took charge of Trinity, the first meeting of the vestry to consider the question of removal was held. The new lot was bought in 1871. After a competition in plans for the new church at a proposed cost of $250,000, the plan offered by Henry Hobson Richardson was selected. Exigencies of the site, the soil, the foundations, and of the cost compelled many changes in the plan, especially a reduction of the height of the central tower. But the style and general plan were carried out in the construction.

With a vision of the new church in the somewhat distant future, rector and people gave themselves to the worship in the old church, and to meeting obstacles of removal and preparation for wider opportunities. On the night of November 10, 1872, the fire alarm rang out which warned a frightened people of the great Boston fire. Starting on Chauncy Street, within two blocks of old Trinity, the flames swept toward the harbor, then widened toward the north and enveloped the church with its solid granite tower. The rector had hurried across the Common and found the faithful Dillon and others trying to save what was hardly worth saving. Exhausted, they sat in a rear pew. Then as the fire waxed hotter, Dillon threw open the west doors as if the service were over and the congregation dismissed, and rector and sexton went out upon the street.

Brooks wrote later: "Trinity burned majestically, and her great tower stands now, solid as ever, a most picturesque and stately view. She died in dignity. I did not know how much I liked the gloomy old thing."

The completion of the plans, the signing of the contracts and the laying of the foundations, the driving of the piles, went on apace. A high board fence surrounding the lot was built, which for four years the neighborhood looked upon as an almost permanent structure, seldom entering, but assuming that a great and worthy church was rising.

While the physical fabric was in the building, the rector, by his preaching, was intent upon the upbuilding of the spiritual life of the parish. Those four years were a season of testing, a dwelling in desert and wilderness in the hope of a promised land. They were in some respects the most interesting and fruitful years of Phillips Brooks's life. The parish work and Sunday school met in different places; Emmanuel Church was at his service for baptisms, marriages, funerals, and other special services. The Sunday services, morning and afternoon, were in Huntington Hall of the Institute of Technology; and one would have had to look far to find a place less suited for worship and preaching. It was, however, diagonally opposite the site of the new church, and thus drew people to that vicinity. From an aesthetic and ecclesiastical point of view, the hall was forbidding. From the sidewalk the people, aged and children, walked up fifty steps to the hall doors, which opened directly into the faces of the congregation. The floor, with students' chairs, inclined upward toward the rear. The walls were cold and bare except for a deep frieze whereon were stencilled drawings of chemists and physicists at work in their laboratories. Large windows let in floods of blinding sunlight. The platform was bare except for Brooks's familiar lectern, which he had rescued from the fire, and a large table for the Lord's Supper. By all standards of art, psychology, and tradition, worship was impossible in such a place. No knee could be bent in

prayer. Within four years there would be left in the people no sense of reverence, no mysticism, no sentiment in behalf of worship or of a church as the beauty of holiness. Meanwhile, across the street these same people were building a church which in a unique way embodied all these things. The anticipation of the church, with the preaching, character, and leadership of Phillips Brooks, held the people, and the parish increased in strength. In very fact, the unusual conditions created a sense of friendliness, democracy, and solidarity which broke down the conservative traditions of old Trinity. The hall was open to all who would climb the stairs.

Brooks himself was more free to express his fast developing thought and theology, and to speak more directly as man to man than from a formal pulpit. He was in the fullness of his physical vigor. He had caught the atmosphere of Boston of that day, had become familiar with the trends of thought, the prejudices and side currents. He had talked and heard men and women, boys and girls, talk and had learned much from them. He had studied and read. His notebook was beside him in those days, and while his parish organizations lagged for lack of a home, he had time to gather his thoughts and prepare an arsenal of material for the sermons of the coming years. He was thirty-eight, his hair untouched with silver, his whole great frame alert, his eye piercing into the center of the congregation, which when he announced his text, he already had in the hollow of his hand. Sermon followed sermon, the text of which a few months or years before had caught his imagination, and had been jotted down. "There was great joy in that city"—the city that has heard the Gospel. "Come and see"—the appeal to the skeptic to come and test Christianity. "Some said that it thundered"—the profound and the superficial explanation of things.

His people moved along week by week, month by month, dropping opinions, prejudices, and what were thought essentials of the Creed; questioning, and then catching a new reve-

lation from a book or preacher. Under these conditions some of Brooks's sermons were epoch-making. Men and women could recall the day and the language in which he opened door after door and let in the light. When he began with the text: "Men's hearts failing them for fear," his people were alert: they were the men. When he gave out the words: "One thing I know," his people who had lost much, but had held on to one or two facts of personal experience, and thereby saved their faith, listened.

As the rush of words, thought, and conviction gained increasing force, one could almost hear the walls of tradition, orthodoxy, and partisanship fall down. The atmosphere became tense and electrified. The great Scotsman, Principal Tulloch, after hearing him once, wrote home: "I could have got up and shouted."

These were years also when his reputation as a preacher was expanding, and the pressure to preach here and there throughout the country was strong. He used to refuse to scatter his power and become a "star" preacher. He stayed by his people, built up his congregation and parish, and by a third Sunday sermon or others in the week preached to thousands in the cities and villages about Boston.

During these four years, the building committee, with the rector, architect, contractors, and builders, was hard at work. As the lot was of exceptional shape and more land was purchased, and as the church with parish house and cloisters was unique, there were constant changes in plan and detail. The financial problem too was a difficult one. The sale of the Summer Street lot and the payment on insurance had to be heavily supplemented by subscriptions and special taxes on each pew. Robert Treat Paine and Stephen G. DeBlois heard much grumbling and criticism from some pew owners for the way in which they were assessed; but the leadership of the rector and his enthusiasm, the pride in the old parish, pressed through obstacle after obstacle. Brooks had insisted upon free galleries

in the new church, which would involve a loss of expected income. The mural paintings must at least be begun. The chapel and parish rooms had been completed and in use for some time. Everyone was determined, however, that the church should be completed at the earliest possible date, that its first service should be that of consecration, and that for this the church should be free of debt. Hence, in the last hurried days, when the interior staging was coming down and the church was being cleaned and carpeted, a final call for $60,000 was gratefully met, and on February 9, 1877, the church stood ready for consecration.

On its exterior, the west end lacked its two side towers and porch, which were built some years later; and the interior was much more severe than it now is. As the choir of those days, a double quartette, sang from the west gallery the organ was there. Looking toward the chancel there was simplicity, if not severity itself. The chancel was approached by carpeted steps and the chancel floor was carpeted; there were no choir stalls, nor organ, nor stone or marble of any sort. Where the lectern now stands was a platform with simple rail on which stood the Philadelphia desk which the rector had saved from the old chapel; and on the other side was a large reading desk facing the congregation. Within the chancel rail stood simply the Lord's Table with a chair at each end. The church as a whole expressed the character and temper of Phillips Brooks and his sympathetic friend Henry Hobson Richardson. They were both men of gigantic size, of broad outlook, of historic sense, and of vivid imagination. In order to build this Christian church in a new country they had for their style of architecture gone back through the Gothic period, nearer to the source of the Church, to the Romanesque with its unity of design and its true proportions. Richness and color were expressed in its mural paintings and windows. Unity and comprehensiveness with beauty were the notes. The simplicity of early Christian worship appealed to Brooks. Here were no

altar, no high screen separating priest from people, no devices for a scenic adoration. The Lord's Table stood in the center of the chancel where the faithful knelt all around it to join in the Holy Feast and receive in their spirit their Lord and Master as they received the consecrated bread and wine. The baptistry beside the chancel gave evidence of the other sacrament. The whole congregation was before the preacher—for did not Holy Writ say that faith comes by preaching?—and the simple desk and platform enabled the preacher, unhidden by wood or stone, to stand and bear witness before all. Later, the poor acoustics of that position led to the building of a temporary pulpit made of timber hung with maroon velvet, from which Phillips Brooks preached. After his death the permanent pulpit, in memory of Robert Treat Paine, was erected in its place.

Trinity Church struck a new note of architecture in this country, and its style was followed, imitated, and often vulgarized, throughout our cities and towns. It was criticized by the ecclesiastically minded, and indeed the Gothic has met with wider approval. The church however stands firmly and successfully as a noble type of Christian architecture and house of worship.

On February 9, 1877, came the great day of consecration by Bishop Paddock assisted by Brooks's old friends and over one hundred of the clergy. From that day on for fourteen years Phillips Brooks led his people by his preaching, work, and life. They were years of intense activity, of consecration, of power and ever widening influence. Here is a description of such a Sunday as went on week after week, year after year.

As the worshippers enter the west door and wait to be shown seats, the organ in the gallery overhead is heard. The galleries are already packed with people. Promptly at half past ten all the doors are opened, and the waiting crowd surges up the aisles, entering the pews, and up into the chancel, sitting upon the cushions of the Communion rail and on the chancel

steps, and lining the walls wherever there is room to stand. The people have come in all sincerity and reverence to hear the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The rector and his assistant enter quietly from the side, and kneel for prayer, as do the people. The organ is silent, then with the rustle of movement, the whole congregation stands, and the rector's voice, "The Lord is in his holy temple," is heard. There is something that touches one's humble spirit, as without processional the service begins and the Confession is repeated. Morning Prayer over, the rector retires to the robing room and exchanging his surplice for the preacher's black gown, enters, kneels at the chancel rail, mounts the pulpit steps during the last part of the hymn; he looks wonderingly at the people, feeling their needs and hopes; turns the pages of his manuscript over; then again gazes intently at the people. The hymn over and the people seated, the preacher in a quiet voice gives out the text; then in a stronger voice repeats it, so that all may hear; then he and the people with him "are off." There is no other fitting expression: the torrent of thought, imagination, illustration, conviction, and passion is let loose; from that moment to the end preacher and people are united in one intense purpose, to give and to receive the message of the Gospel of that day.

To quote Ambassador Bryce: "There was no sign of art about his preaching, no touch of self-consciousness. He spoke to his audience as a man might speak to his friend, pouring forth with swift, yet quiet and seldom impassioned earnestness the thoughts and feelings of his singularly pure and lofty spirit. The listeners never thought of style or manner, but only of the substance of the thoughts. They were entranced and carried out of themselves by the strength and sweetness and beauty of the aspects of religious truth and its helpfulness to weak human nature which he presented. There was a wealth of keen observation, fine reflection, and insight both

subtle and imaginative, all touched with warmth and tenderness which seemed to transfuse and irradiate the thought itself."

He was Phillips Brooks transfigured through the power of his Master, speaking with sincerity and love for his Master. Step by step he leads the people on: the words and phrases of his sermon have been so burnt into his memory in the writing that he is comparatively free of his manuscript. Then, as he comes to the close and the final tender appeal, his voice, full of emotion, is modulated, while the expectant listeners strain to hear the last word. There is silence, silence that can be felt. Without ascription and with little other than a whispered word, "Let us pray," preacher and people pray that the message will abide with them. The hymn and benediction follow. Without recessional hymn the people move silently down the aisles, through the doors, and spread throughout the city.

The afternoon service was much the same. The church was packed, but with a larger proportion of strangers. I once asked him how he could preach with the same enthusiasm to the same people Sunday after Sunday. "Oh," was his answer, "I can't do my warden much good: he is a saint already; but it is the unknown stranger in the back of the church waiting for the Gospel that interests me." Yet the warden was as dependent on the message as was the stranger.

Then toward evening, he picked up the manuscript of his morning sermon and took carriage or train to a suburban town or a neighboring city to preach a third time.

For many years, his morning sermon, except on the first Sunday of the month when the Lord's Supper was administered, was from manuscript. In the afternoon he preached a sermon of two or three years back; for he had no artificial qualms about repeating sermons. "A good sermon, like a good poem, may be read again and again," he was wont to say. In later years he gave up his manuscript, and prepared his

REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS

In his Study

sermons as he did his Wednesday evening lectures — working out his framework most carefully on one sheet of paper, always of the same size, easily filed, which he folded and put in his breast pocket; though he never looked at it after entering the pulpit, the fact that it was there gave him confidence.

These details from the shop are of value as are the study of the methods of an artist. And the finished product, the sermon of Phillips Brooks, was as unconscious and graceful a unit of expression as the work of a masterly painter or sculptor.

Soon after the completion of the church, Brooks moved from his apartment at the Kempton, on Berkeley Street, to the rectory built for him by Richardson. One could not mistake this: for with a design caught by Richardson from an old Dutch house in Albany, it expressed in its lines the simplicity, the friendliness and hospitality of its occupant. Here in his beautiful, ample study with its great fireplace he welcomed everybody. To be sure, there was a room in the parish house called his office where he did some official business, but his real home, office, place of work, of friendliness and hospitality, was his study which was ever open. How he ever accomplished what he did was always a source of wonder. He could not brook a secretary, and until he was bishop had none: he wrote all his letters in his beautiful flowing hand. He despised postal cards, and returned them in the envelope with his answer; he esteemed illegible handwriting of a correspondent as supreme selfishness. He wrote every word of his sermons and notes, and yet he gave the impression to friends and other callers of a carefree, kind, and sympathetic man who threw his whole thought into the little problem put before him in such a way that stranger, tramp, guests of distinction, and bereaved or defeated men and women went out conscious and happy that in him they had a friend. Only unreality, hypocrisy, or falsehood could stir his anger, sometimes his humor. For of humor and wit he had abundance. These kept him calm and wise in difficult situations, and with his

sympathy made him the adored of children. In them he delighted, and they in him. His gigantic size never repelled but always attracted them. He was six feet four inches tall and weighed three hundred pounds.

On Monday mornings his intimate friends dropped in to talk over the Sunday past or the sermon to come. Once a month the "Clericus Club," a larger group, met in the study: to him it was "The Club," from which he was never absent. Addresses, dinners public and private, sermons in distant cities or colleges, committees (at which he chafed), and all sorts of interests claimed him. He was a founder of the "Church Congress" and was always at its meetings, for he believed that its free speech was essential to the health of the Church. He preached in churches of all denominations, and his Good Friday evening sermon in the Old South for his friend Dr. Gordon was an annual event. He was one of the first in the Episcopal Church to introduce the Watch Night Service at Trinity, and the Maundy Thursday evening Communion. In 1878 he yielded to the pressure of his friends and people, and published his first volume of sermons, which had a remarkable sale. This was followed from time to time by others, and after his death more volumes were published. Over two hundred thousand of these volumes were sold, and other messages of his went in printed form to hundreds of thousands over the world.

None of these interests, however, could take the place of his first love, the pastoral care of his people. Heavy as was his work, he kept up the routine parish calls to the close of his rectorship; and to the call of a sick or bereaved parishioner he responded immediately. He liked people; he walked the streets, looked in the shop windows, smiled at the passing children as they gazed at his huge frame. He was human, yet he possessed a dignity, a sacredness of personality, which held at a distance the trivial questioner or the inquisitive stranger.

Three months after coming to Boston, he preached at the

invitation of his old friend, dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Dr. John S. Stone, in St. John's Memorial Chapel, and continued to do so one Sunday evening in each month for several years. His sermon was usually that which he had given in Trinity the same morning. The chapel was packed with Cambridge people, professors, and students. Soon he was also claimed by Harvard and preached occasionally, then more frequently, in Appleton Chapel, conducting daily morning prayers. At that time the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody was the beloved College pastor. Upon his death President Eliot, for the Harvard Corporation, asked and pressed Brooks to take that office; his decision was perhaps the most difficult practical problem of his life. The appeal of the work with college men struggled with that for his own people and the larger public. Finally deciding to remain at Trinity, he was the more ready to give a larger fraction of his time and strength to the University, of which he had become an overseer. He was influential in abolishing the system of compulsory prayers and in promoting the at that time unique system of college preachers. He was a member of the first Board of Preachers, and continued in the service of the University for many years. During six weeks of the year his week-day mornings were given to conducting prayers, and then to personal conferences with the students who pressed in to see him and place their problems before him. When his turn as preacher on Sunday evenings came, Appleton Chapel was crowded to the doors with numbers of the faculty and students. The untested powers of youth kindled his imagination; their unconventionality interested him, and their ingenuous desire to get at the truth inspired him to help them. For years he was the recognized spiritual leader of the University. At the invitation of Yale University he delivered a course of lectures on preaching which were of marked note at the time, had a great circulation in this country, England and beyond, and still remain a standard book for every man who hopes to preach.

His Bohlen Lectures on "The Influence of Jesus" were perhaps his most original piece of work. To him religion was not a theological system, a creed or a church: its essential was the personal relation of the individual man to God. Hence these two volumes, each in its way, lay strong emphasis upon the essential character of the preacher, inspired, shot through with the Spirit of God; and Jesus, the very expression and incarnation of the character of God.

As University Preacher in Cambridge, England, he gave two lectures of marked originality on "Tolerance."

Almost every other summer he stayed at his post preaching every Sunday. He thus reached people who came to New England's coast from all parts of the country: and through them his message was distributed widely. Many persons made a point of passing a summer Sunday in Boston simply to hear Phillips Brooks. The alternate summers he packed his trunk and with a brother or friend went to Europe, taking a different route each time, and thus covering the continent as years passed. England was his second home, Arthur Stanley, dean of Westminster Abbey, his warm friend. He preached in country and city churches, in cathedrals, the Abbey, and at Windsor before the Queen. At Oxford he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Wherever he went and however great the social pressure or the invitations to preach, he gained his holiday, for he had a zest for travel, he enjoyed people, and had an enthusiastic interest in art and architecture. In southern France and Spain he took delight in discoveries of replicas of Trinity, Boston.

In 1882, after thirteen years of such intense work, of exciting incidents, of heavy routine work week in and week out, year in and year out, of appeals to duty and to emotions, his friends and the vestry convinced him that he should break away for a year. He responded gladly, for no boy ever enjoyed his holidays with more glee and completeness than did Brooks. The climax of his trip was his visit to India, where, en-

tranced with the scenery, art, and history of the country, he saw Christian missions at first hand. From his mother he had been saturated with missionary spirit: his foreign missionary sermon in the Epiphany season each year was a great event to himself and the parish. To find his hopes and expectations carried through by strong and devoted missionaries set for him the seal upon his preaching. Six years later, when the strain of his work was again noticed, he broke away and with his intimate friend Bishop McVickar went to Japan.

Returning, he again took up the pace, for with people hungry for his message and help he could not escape responding with sermons, addresses, or interviews. Trinity still was crowded Sunday after Sunday; requests for addresses, speeches, and sermons came upon his desk, and he responded with apparent enthusiasm, certainly with power. Those closest to him, however, could see or rather feel that even though he was only in the fifties his physical reserve power was weakening, and some of the buoyancy and brilliancy of his thought and speech was fading. The routine was beginning to wear him down; and the special occasions were causing a strain.

Looking back, we ask ourselves what had been the dominant motives, purposes, and results of these twenty years of preaching. Had the people to whom he preached at the close of his rectorship been transformed in thought, faith, and character from those of earlier days? and if so, in what respects?

During the twenty-five and more years of Phillips Brooks's ministry, the popular conception of the Christian Faith, the Scriptures, ethics, and the Church changed more, perhaps, than in the preceding thousand years. In the sweep, storms, and calms of that generation Brooks was one of the multitude of pilots who led many a soul out upon quiet seas into harbor.

The people to whom Brooks first preached, especially the older of them, were still under the shadow of Calvinism which was in theology that of the Middle Ages; their children were, however, breaking away into something they knew not what.

With the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859 and the whisperings of evolution, the movement began in the popular mind.

To the people in the churches, God was the Creator Who, having done His work, dwelt in the infinite distance. He was the Judge. To redeem men from sin His Son came and, innocent though He was, took upon Himself the sins of all and suffered for the elect. Personal religion was a matter of fear, penitence, forgiveness, duty, and preparation for death and the judgment. To those people's children who were guided by Brooks, God was their loving Heavenly Father whose spirit was in and with them, Who so loved them that He gave His only Son, Who by His life and death and resurrection, by His leadership, lifted them into light and life here and hereafter.

In the early years of Brooks's ministry the people had little conception of the unity of the universe, of natural law, and of the development of life, of ethics, and the revelation of God. The great witness to the presence and power of God was in the miraculous, the wonder working, in the storm, but with the still small voice unheard. The Scriptures were one flat record, every word inspired and of equal value. The history of man was the story of wars and not of his development through peaceful pursuits.

In the later years the young men and women to whom he spoke had caught the conception of God as a spiritual Father whose life entered into every part of His universe, Who lived within the hearts of men, who were not strangers but His very children. The former generation associated religious faith and life with anaemic saints, hyperconservative souls, and other worldliness. Brooks led the youth into the conception of religious life as one of buoyancy, abundance, grateful service, and ever developing life and search for truth. His dominant note was the call of Jesus: "I am come that they might have life: and that they might have it more abundantly."

In the winter of 1890, when fifty-four years old, he seemed

to gather all the forces of his personality into his work. A week of Lenten addresses in Trinity Church, New York, when all Wall Street seemed to press into the church already packed; Lenten noonday addresses for men in St. Paul's Church, Boston, and in Faneuil Hall; a great speech before the National Chamber of Commerce, and later baccalaureate sermons at Harvard and the Institute of Technology, enabled him to speak from cumulative experience, wrought-out conviction, and a directness which swept men's emotions and doubts before them.

On March 9, 1891, Bishop Paddock died, and as the Diocesan Convention was to meet in five weeks, the time for the consideration as to his successor was short. Brooks's chief interests had been in preaching and the work of a pastor; though not recognized as an administrator, the thriving condition of Trinity Parish and its various missionary, educational, and charity departments showed that he had the capacity to administer or select men and women who could do so for him. Those who knew him and his tastes did not have him in mind for the office of bishop until a demand came from the people through the newspapers and common talk that he who had led in the great parish should be the spiritual leader in the state and commonwealth. The opening of this fresh opportunity for service, almost to the surprise of himself as well as his friends, appealed to him: and as soon as it became known that he would consider the office if elected, the clergy and laity of the convention elected him on the first ballot.

During the next three months Phillips Brooks went through a testing more severe than any other in his life. No sooner had he accepted the election subject to confirmation by the dioceses and bishops of the Church, than charges of heresy, radicalism, disloyalty to the creeds and the Church were made from various parts of the country; it was to be expected, but not in such force. For with his New England inheritance, his independence, his spiritual leadership, he had spoken and

written in a way that some others could not interpret as loyal. During these weeks Brooks, who was importuned by well-meaning friends to defend himself, said nothing: but standing upon his record and character he humbly and patiently waited. His confirmation finally came: and on October 14, 1891, he stood in the chancel of Trinity Church amidst bishops, clergy, laymen and his own beloved people, officers of the commonwealth and representatives from a distance; and in response to the challenge of the Presiding Bishop said: "I am ready, the Lord being my helper. I will do so, by the help of God." He then knelt to receive consecration at the hands of the bishops. After the *Benedicite*, taking the arm of the old and stately Presiding Bishop, Williams of Connecticut, he walked down the aisle, no longer rector of Trinity Church, but Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts.

For fifteen months a fresh mantle of consecration and spiritual power seemed to be his as he went up and down the state preaching, confirming, out into the nation and even to England. Wherever he went, whether in a small village of the Berkshires or in Westminster Abbey or the cathedrals of England, the people gathered, hung upon his words, and went away refreshed. Happy it was for the Church and for the episcopate that he should have been a bishop for even such a tragically short time as fifteen months.

On January 23, 1893, when he was just past fifty-seven, after an illness of only three days, he suddenly fell asleep and left a people stunned with grief and, afterward, lifted by the inspiration of his life.

Three days later, in Trinity Church, whose stones and upbuilding are his memorial, his body, carried on the shoulders of Harvard students, was laid in the chancel; hymns of victory were sung, the promise of the Resurrection was read. Outside in Copley Square, the populace, who had left the shops of the city shut for this hour, gathered about his body as it rested for a few minutes outside the church, and joined in hymn and

prayer; then, after the funeral procession had passed through the Harvard Yard and between long lines of students, it was laid to its final rest in Mount Auburn beside those of his mother, father, and brothers. The people of Trinity Parish went to their homes and thanked God that a prophet and saint had been among them.

V

REV. E. WINCHESTER DONALD, D.D.

Tenth Rector of Trinity Church

1892–1904

BY REV. WILLIAM H. DEWART, L.H.D.

Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, 1893–1902
Rector Emeritus of "Old North Church," Boston

E. Winchester Donald

"SOMEONE must leap into this gulf. Why not I?" These were almost the first words of Dr. Donald after accepting the invitation to become the successor to Phillips Brooks in Trinity Church, Boston—Phillips Brooks who was loved and, in many cases may we not say, was almost idolized in the great congregation that he had gathered around him after twenty years as rector and preacher. Probably few preachers in the history of our American Church have ever entered upon a more difficult task than that which confronted the new rector. He was bound to be judged week by week by the Brooks standard.

In thinking of Dr. Donald it is well always to keep this in mind: had he seen the light of day a few years earlier than he did, he would have been born in Scotland. This is merely to say that he was born only a few years after his Scotch parents had emigrated and settled in Andover, Massachusetts. Through them he was quite near Scotch soil, and terribly Scotch he remained to the last day of his life. In pronouncing many English words he had "a burr like the crust on wine."

He was graduated from Amherst College. He afterward became a trustee of Amherst, and was the first Episcopal clergyman to receive from it the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

After college and after teaching for a couple of years, he turned to the Episcopal Church ministry. For his preparatory work he went first to an Episcopal Church seminary, but after a few months transferred himself to the Union Seminary (Presbyterian) in New York City. This was a bit out of the normal, but Union Seminary at that time had a group of professors that made it the outstanding liberal theological school in America. The young student was eager for the best possible training for his work. While still a student at Union Seminary he went one Sunday to read the service in the Church of the Ascension, New York City. "Who is this man?" said the

senior warden. "He reads mighty well; get him permanently." So he became the regular lay reader of the church. Evidently he made a good impression, for a little later, when the seminary course was completed, he was invited to become the assistant minister. After one year in this position he accepted the call to be rector of the Church of the Intercession, New York City, where he remained for six and one-half years. This must be the parish about which I recall one of his little pleasantries. Once he suddenly asked me how old I was; I replied that I was twenty-nine. "Good heavens!" he ejaculated, "when I was your age I was rector of a parish that had a debt of sixty thousand dollars." Later on, this particular parish, the Church of the Intercession, was taken over by Trinity Church, New York, as one of its chapels, and it still continues to-day one of the vital parishes of the city. While there Dr. Donald married Miss Cornelia Clapp of New York, who later presided so graciously over the Boston home.

That Dr. Donald's work there was of a notable character may be inferred from the fact that he was now called back to the Church of the Ascension, the church where already he had served, first as lay reader, then as assistant minister. Here too was a church not only with a big debt, but also with a big problem. There is only space to say that his work here was quite outstanding. He not only paid off the heavy debt, but he enriched and beautified the church's interior, calling to his aid three of the greatest artists living at the time—St. Gaudens, La Farge, and Stanford White.

One of the most interesting features of his New York ministry, said Dr. Huntington in the memorial sermon to Dr. Donald, preached at Trinity Church, Boston, in 1904, was his outreaching character, his success in establishing close relations with persons whom the average minister seldom as much as touches. Round about the compact body of his parishioners proper was a wide fringe of those somewhat detached who loved him dearly and would have followed him any-

REV. E. WINCHESTER DONALD

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whither. "Young men of business, strangers in the great city, struggling artists, budding journalists—I venture to say that the young rector of the Ascension had more of these and of the like of these under his wing than any other pastor of our communion, in New York." On the strength of his fine record made at the Church of the Ascension, Dr. Donald was called to Trinity Church, Boston—probably, as tradition says, with the strong recommendation of Phillips Brooks.

When he came to Trinity, in the last months of 1892, he was in the full prime of life and vigor, forty-four years of age. In personal appearance he was rather tall; rather slim; shoulders sloping; head covered with a heavy thatch of dark hair, always parted in the middle; eyes, dark and penetrating, arched over by heavy eyebrows; nose, well formed and shapely—Franz Hals would have loved to paint it. He wore a full beard, short, dark and bristly, parted in the middle, like Chief Justice Hughes, "with a swipe to starboard and one to port." In his attire were no signs of conventional professionalism. Meeting him on the street one would involuntarily cast a second glance with the instinctive feeling that here was "somebody"—maybe a college professor, a judge, a painter, an architect, at any rate one who looked like a real man, a leader in whatever field of work he moved.

Always, from his early years as a young clergyman, he made his personality both felt and remembered. I can illustrate this by the following incident: In the first year of Dr. Donald's rectorship at Trinity, I had occasion to have several conferences with Edward Everett Hale, and invariably, after our little matter was disposed of, Dr. Hale would turn the conversation to Trinity's new rector, sometimes drawing me out, more often himself talking about him. Once he said: "I well recall the first time I ever met Donald; it was many years ago. I was presiding at a college fraternity banquet; there were a couple of hundred young college fellows present; champagne was flowing pretty freely and things were becoming quite

hilarious when this young clergyman was called upon for a speech. By some happy remarks he won their immediate attention; then he suddenly turned and launched into those young fellows like a Peter the Hermit, and at the end won from the criticized, themselves, a big hand of applause. The banquet went on," said Dr. Hale, "but it was different. Ever since that night Donald has been a marked man to me, and I was not at all surprised that he was the one chosen to take the place of Phillips Brooks."

It was about this same time, Dr. Donald's first year at Trinity, that Mr. Edward Potter told me this little story that is altogether characteristic. Older people will recall Mr. Potter, who for years was a devoted member of the parish. Mr. Potter was returning to Boston, after he had been away for a considerable time and was somewhat out of touch with affairs in the home town. He went into the smoking compartment of the train where four or five others had assembled, manifestly strangers one to another. At first there was the usual silence punctuated by a disjointed remark here and there; but before long two of the men fell into a discussion on politics. They were on different sides and as they warmed to their subject the others present dropped out of the conversation and the discussion became just a debate between the two. They quoted policies and authorities back and forth; they appealed to statesmen, living and dead; they disagreed; they argued; but all with the greatest courtesy and politeness on the part of each. The thing went on for quite some time, and my narrator always affirmed that never had he listened to a debate more sparkling or more brilliant. Had Mr. Potter come from the distant West or even from the Middle West, he never would have left that compartment without ascertaining, at least, the names of the two men. But, being a formal Boston man, he just could not—and did not! The next Sunday morning in his pew at Trinity sat Mr. Potter to hear the new rector preach his first sermon in Boston, and what was

his surprise to find, in the person of the new rector, none other than one of the debaters on the train.

Strongly individualistic, Dr. Donald had in his make-up unusual deposits of candor, openness, frankness; qualities that were reinforced by a robust, intellectual honesty. The thing he worked out at his study desk, the thing he really believed in his heart, was the thing he openly and frankly said in pulpit or on platform. This led quite often to his being on the unpopular side of certain issues and oftentimes to his support of the "under fellow." It was he who first called my attention to Matthew Arnold's essay on "The Remnant," and it is possible that just here in this essay he found the endorsement and the inspiration that put him so many times on the minority side. For example, in his early days at Trinity, there came one of those periodic upheavals against Tammany Hall. A good part of the nation was arrayed against it. Many great newspapers were printing slashing articles in condemnation, and it was at this moment that Dr. Donald, in a public address before a club, spoke up in defence of Tammany. This was not an isolated experience. Truth to say, there were not a few just such instances in those early years while Boston was still measuring and weighing the new rector at Trinity.

I recall one such incident: The young men of the parish were observing the second anniversary of the passing of Phillips Brooks; at the dinner maybe one hundred and fifty or two hundred were present. When the time for the speeches came, several of these young men, who had known Phillips Brooks just a little while before and still felt in their own lives the strange power of his personality, arose and one after the other lauded Phillips Brooks up to the very skies, all in perfect sincerity. Then Dr. Donald, as rector, was called upon as the last speaker. At first he spoke wonderful words of Phillips Brooks. But, he went on: "Phillips Brooks was human as you and I are human; he had a temper as you and I have a temper. I have seen him in his big study in Clarendon Street kick his hat along the

floor one way and then kick it back the other way. Mad! Mad clean through!" The dinner ended at a low temperature! A considerable time after, I chanced to meet upon the street one of the young men. I halted him, saying: "See here, I have not seen you at Trinity Club this long while." "No," he replied; "it will be a long time before I get over that picture of Phillips Brooks kicking his hat up and down his study, and I don't propose to subject myself to a similar experience." The man was aggrieved. Dr. Donald had rasped him, rasped him by putting himself and his words against the popular drift and current of the evening.

Possibly some of my readers will recall this incident from Margot Asquith: In early childhood when out on the wild moors of Scotland with her governess, she used to meet an odd old chap walking sometimes in this direction, sometimes in that, and always with no apparent objective ahead of him. One day they stopped him and asked: "How do you shape your course? You seem to walk all day and go nowhere." To which he replied: "I always turns my back to the wind." Dr. Donald was the very antithesis of that man; so many times he did not flow along with and agree with public opinion—rather he opposed it. Some there were in the old days who said Dr. Donald was lacking in tact. Let us readily admit that sometimes, maybe, he was not wise in his advocacy of certain causes, principles, and ideas; but, at least, he was straightforward and honest, if sometimes blunt and even if sometimes his candor bordered upon rudeness.

It was about this same time, his first years at Trinity, that a Boston wife, over the teacups, said to her husband—a man of prominence in Boston and the Episcopal Church, and of most even disposition: "Do you know, I think Dr. Donald must be a very smart man?" "Why so?" asked the husband. "Because," she went on, "he is the only man in this big city who can make you mad."

I set these things down; I paint them in; for without them

the portrait would not be Dr. Donald. Scotch honesty of speech, Scotch frankness of utterance, in almost any community, are apt to leave lacerated feelings behind them, and Boston was no exception to the general rule.

This brings me to other and more winning characteristics. Manliness! He was a man's man. Priest of the church? Yes! but before that a man. "The Cup-bearer?" as Dr. Huntington described him in his memorial sermon. Yes, but back of that a man. It was a man who mounted the pulpit steps, a man who preached to other men—and men responded. In Boston, as in New York, men formed an unusually large proportion of his congregation.

Then, too, there is another trait which ought to be emphasized: beyond most men he had the gift, the divine gift, of sympathy. I do not recall just when for the first time I heard a certain sentence fall from his lips, but I heard it multitudes of times as the years came and went. It is a simple little phrase, but as I look back to-day I cannot think of any other expression quite so characteristic of E. Winchester Donald as is this one: "I am sorry for anyone in trouble." "In trouble" was the open sesame that admitted one into the richest part of his nature. His great sympathy flowed out over the troubled soul as water over a dry ground. It made him gentle in voice, helpful, and friendly. To the troubled one, hope that had vanished began to revive and to come to life once more. People in domestic trouble; people suffering bereavement; people fighting disease, or liquor; people not formally connected with the parish—though many came out of the "afternoon congregation"; people from all walks of life, from school teacher to now and then a Magdalene, from professional man to reformed criminal; all these came in increasing numbers as the years went by, and with all alike he was patient and helpful, sharing their burdens and giving them a new grip on life. A very large part of his Boston days was given over, in Burke's fine phrase, "to remembering the forgotten and ministering to the neg-

lected." This was the thing that wore him down and sapped away his power of resistance. Sometimes when members of the staff would question the wisdom of carrying along this or that particular case, he was apt to reply, "Let us keep on." His sympathy and toleration almost matched that of the good grey poet: "Not till the sun excludes you, do I exclude you." Once, when he was sailing for France, I called to say good-by. After some general instructions, he said, "And now in my absence this summer always bear in mind that old precept which says: 'Be pitiful, for everyone is fighting a hard battle.'" A young assistant of his in New York, afterward a well-known clergyman, wrote of Donald: "He had a genius for getting *en rapport* with the unsettled and the discouraged, and for steadying dizzy eyes."

The following little story was told the present writer only a few months ago by one over fourscore years old, now retired in serenity and honor—the Rev. Henry C. Cunningham—who had known Dr. Donald from seminary days. In Boston over thirty years ago were two bank officials on State Street; both were members of Trinity—call them Mr. Smith and Mr. Brown. Mr. Smith was a strong admirer of Dr. Donald; Mr. Brown was quite the opposite—always critical, always contrasting him with Phillips Brooks. To this criticism the former would say, "But wait, wait; you do not know the man." Time went by; the angel of death visited the home of Mr. Brown and with the bereaved family Dr. Donald came into close personal relationship. Later Mr. Brown said to Mr. Smith: "Do you know, Donald means as much to me as ever Brooks could mean?"

Dr. Huntington was selected to preach the memorial sermon to Dr. Donald in 1904. Sympathy was his real gift, said this old friend: "His true emblem was not the claymore, as he fancied, it was the chalice." The text was: "I was the King's Cup-bearer." And those words were put at the top of the

marble bas-relief, the work of Bela Pratt, which was placed in Trinity Church, a parish memorial to Dr. Donald.

It is not easy to speak of Dr. Donald as preacher. Of course things did not continue on the high Phillips Brooks level; no longer were the chancel steps filled with visitors Sunday after Sunday; but even so there were big congregations, even the galleries being well filled. The morning congregations were made up, for the most part, of pew owners. In the afternoon at four there was another large congregation in which men predominated—once more the galleries being well filled. This afternoon congregation was made up not so much of pew owners as of "the regular congregation" plus visitors and transients. Dr. Donald varied in his sermons, and he was different kinds of a preacher. He was one kind at the morning service; he was a different kind at the afternoon service. Always the rector himself preached twice each Sunday. Assistant ministers there were; but only on rare occasions, other than during the long summer vacation, were they called upon to preach. The sermons always were intellectual. The morning sermons were fully written out—written out in this invariable manner: Early Saturday morning he would lock himself in his study in Clarendon Street and emerge about five in the afternoon with ten or twelve large sheets of white paper, closely and finely written, with scarce a correction or alteration. But woe to that person who violated the locked door. Once—just once—I did that thing. I knocked. The door was flung open, the rector glowered at me and thundered out: "Well! what do you want? The horse and cart were just half way up the hill and here you are sending them clean to the bottom again."

The morning sermons were logical, argumentative, and to some rather heavy, rather wordy. One missed the play of imagination, the poetry of Phillips Brooks. But then, who had it? The afternoon sermons were quite different; they were alto-

gether extemporaneous, with never so much as a line or note to refer to; they were direct, personal, usually with a strong ethical bearing. The sermons I remember to-day, almost without exception, were afternoon sermons. With hesitation and due modesty, I once ventured to suggest that he preach the afternoon kind of sermon before the morning congregation. He shook his head decidedly. "No! no!" he said. "In the morning I see the figure of Josiah H. Benton before me and I feel that I must reach and convince him." Mr. Benton was a hard-headed New England lawyer who had come to Boston in 1873, and by the 1890's had become one of the leaders of the bar, at least in the department of railroad law. He had lived through the Phillips Brooks period in Boston without being greatly impressed or drawn to Trinity Church. But with the coming of Dr. Donald there was a change. Through a common friend the two men met and were attracted one to the other; they became friends. Mr. Benton bought a pew and became a regular attendant at the morning service. The Benton Fund, whose income is expended by the rectors of Trinity Church for the help of poor persons in Boston, under the will of Mr. Benton, was first administered by the Rev. Dr. Mann, Donald's successor. But let not Dr. Donald's share in bringing this about be forgotten.

We have frankly allowed that Dr. Donald was human; in some ways very human. Someone has said: "The great oftentimes have an excess on the human side as well as an excess on the side of the angels." It was that element in Dr. Donald that was one of his attractions. He was always ready for a pleasantry, joke, or quip—even when it was at his own expense. For example, he was fond of telling about the old man who one Sunday morning at Trinity after the service, in quite a loud voice, said: "I could n't hear very much of what Phillips Brooks said; I can hear everything this man says, but I'd a good deal sooner hear Phillips Brooks." And a certain experience of Mrs. Donald's he thoroughly enjoyed. She had taken her seat one Sunday afternoon in the broad aisle; strangers were shown in,

quite filling the pew. As usual, Dr. Donald preached. When the sermon was over, the stranger next to Mrs. Donald put his hand over his mouth and whispered to her: "Not a Phillips Brooks, is he?" Mrs. Donald put her hand to her lips and whispered back: "No! but he is my husband."

Dr. Donald was one of the most widely sought after preachers of his day. His effectiveness as a preacher, his influence over and his interest in young men, led to never-ending calls, especially from universities and colleges. He was on the Board of Preachers at Harvard College from 1892 to 1896; preached often at Yale, at Columbia, at Trinity, and at the Institute of Technology. For many years he went annually to Cornell for a lengthened period of service; and in his last active year he spent three weeks at the University of Chicago, officiating as chaplain and giving lectures.

While it is true that on economic and political issues it was not easy, sometimes, to infer what stand Dr. Donald would take, yet on subjects connected with theology, religion, or church the case was different. Here, always, he was on the liberal side; always he stood for the larger interpretation. He had the rare faculty of disputing, arguing, contending with an opponent on platform or before an audience—and sometimes the thing was almost bitter—and yet when the session had ended, in cases where he felt his opponent was perfectly sincere, he had the rare habit of seeking out that opponent, of warming up to him and of fraternizing with him, thus discriminating between the man and his opinions. The number of friendships formed in this way was not few, nor was the quality of the friendships ordinary—a liberal-minded cleric finding in an other-minded Churchman both a friend and a brother. But after all it was consistent with a pronouncement he often used to make: "It is not enough to be broad in your thinking; you must be broad enough to let the other fellow be narrow."

Harvard students came to the rectory in numbers. During certain seasons of the college year, Sunday night after Sunday

night, one would find from four to six of these young fellows there for "Sunday supper." After the supper, when they had assembled in the big study room, there would follow an hour or two of wonderful conversation—literature, politics, religion, sport, or any current theme. Dr. Donald knew men; he knew cities; his familiarity with life in New York, London, and Paris—his wide acquaintance, particularly with artists and writers, oftentimes gave an unusual force to what he had to say. He was a rare conversationalist and held his own in any group of men.

He delivered a course of six lectures at the Lowell Institute on "The Expansion of Religion," which were published in book form, about three hundred pages, in 1896. His convictions as to theology and "churchmanship, so-called," said Dr. Huntington, "are not often found living amicably together in one and the same mind," for he held "along with so unecclesiastical a philosophy of religion, a deep devotion to the sacramental side of Christianity."

There were four notable accomplishments in Trinity Church during Dr. Donald's decade of service as rector, which the people of Trinity effected under his leadership.

The western front of the church edifice was completed. Let one stand in Copley Square to-day and, facing Trinity, let him in imagination picture Trinity Church without the great porch and without the corner towers overhead. This was the incomplete Trinity that Dr. Donald saw upon his arrival in Boston. Phillips Brooks had felt this incompleteness in the great structure and had already gotten together a considerable sum of money for its completion. Dr. Donald, almost before he was well established in the rector's seat, was busying himself with plans for the completion of Trinity Church, "which," as he said, "will stand as the fit symbol of the finished ministry of him in whom was illustrated the noblest qualities of the people to whom he ministered and by whom the church was

builded." The undertaking was a work of magnitude. Each one of twenty-six blocks of stone was to be carved into a fitting figure, Biblical or ecclesiastical; above the piers and capitals was to be a frieze three feet high, with carved scenes from the life of the personages represented in near-by stones. Dr. Donald added a real contribution to the trained taste and accurate knowledge of the architect, Mr. Shepley, of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge. When finally, after a couple of years' work, this Galilee Porch was finished, in December, 1897, Dr. Donald was completely satisfied, saying, "Here is a porch worthy of being transported and set down in front of St. Paul's, London."

A repair fund was established for the maintenance of the fabric of the church. When the new rector came to Boston the Trinity edifice had been standing for fifteen years and in that time very little had been done, or maybe was needed to be done, in the way of repairs. But all at once in this first year a very great deal had to be done—the bell deck of the great tower, the roofs, and the stone work all had to be repaired and protected against weather and the effects of time. All of this unexpected work was something of a strain on parish finances; but the job was done.

And then Dr. Donald proposed a measure that was wise and statesmanlike. Hear his words and his plan: "No parish, unless it be endowed, can meet the heavy demands which a building so monumental as is Trinity makes upon its resources for repairs without immense strain. I venture, therefore, to suggest that a fund be created by gift, or by bequest, or by both, to be known as the Repair Fund of Trinity Church in the City of Boston, the amount of which may be placed at thirty thousand dollars, the income from which shall be used in the maintenance of the fabric of Trinity Church. Such a fund would be a guarantee that our noble church, justly regarded as one of the chief architectural ornaments of the city, endeared to thousands of our citizens, and identified with much of the best re-

ligious life of our beloved town, shall stand for centuries unmarred by decay or neglect." Two years later he could say with joy that the fund had now a concrete existence.

The parish debt was paid off. This financial incumbrance had been carried along by the parish for more than twenty years. Almost all of this was incurred in the building of the rectory on Clarendon Street. Now a determined attempt was made to rid the parish of this burden; the combined efforts of rector and vestry were completely successful; over forty thousand dollars were collected. Dr. Donald writes: "And now for the first time since 1880, save the brief period during which the Diocese owned the Rectory, the parish is free from debt. We rejoice in this fresh illustration of parochial generosity."

When Dr. Donald began his ministry at Trinity, the interior of the church did not altogether suggest that of an Episcopal church. There was the spacious chancel, but with nothing therein save a simple table. There was a choir, but away off in the distant western gallery, a "mixed choir." The simplicity of these arrangements, time-honored as they were, had appealed strongly to Phillips Brooks. But from the very first Dr. Donald felt that the Trinity Church chancel was incomplete, that the great space needed a central structure, worthy of the great apse, "simply because the eye demands it." But he did not publicly suggest a change of any kind. He did, however, for many successive years, during the Christmas season, build up in the chancel, around the simple table, a great baldachin made up of evergreens and evergreen trees; thus, maybe, getting the parishioners accustomed to the presence of a "central structure." In 1900 the vestry voted unanimously to undertake the adornment and rearrangement of the chancel. A committee was appointed to solicit funds to defray the cost of the work. In response to the circular which the committee issued, nearly half of the amount needed was soon subscribed.

Then there came a discordant note. At the meeting of the proprietors, held soon after Easter, it was voted to approve of

the action of the vestry. The vote, however, was not unanimous. Evidently Dr. Donald and the vestry were not willing to push through the alterations without the full approval, not only of the vestry, but of the proprietors as well, for the vestry voted to return to the subscribers the amounts paid in to the chancel fund. Dr. Donald, in a statement, gave to the parishioners all the facts in the case and then added: "I will now state my own judgment of this matter. It is this: that the welfare of the total body of worshippers in our parish requires that the proposed change in our chancel should be made; that the future prosperity of the parish requires it; and that in the very near future it will be made with the hearty approval of the great majority of proprietors personally worshipping in Trinity Church."

Some rectors, having a unanimous vestry and a majority of proprietors behind them, would have put a cherished plan through to completion. But this Dr. Donald did not do. He retreated, but with banners flying! Two years later his prophecy was fulfilled. We read in the rector's message: "In the early spring of this year the vestry voted to make whatever alterations in the chancel the installing of a vested choir of men and boys might require. The action of the vestry was ratified by the proprietors at their Easter meeting."

To secure the large sum necessary to carry out the work in keeping with the dignity of the great edifice was no easy undertaking, but it was accomplished.The total sum given to carry out the vote of the proprietors, including the chancel organ, the rector's seat, the chorister's stalls, and the memorial altar in the baptistry, was $24,900.The fine organ then placed in the chancel was the gift of Mr. and Mrs. William V. Kellen. The console placed there operated it and the old organ in the western gallery.

Dr. Donald, in a happy state of mind over the accomplished results, writes: "He to whom fell the duty of soliciting this large amount claims the privilege of saying that his requests

for subscriptions met with so cheerful a promptness and generosity that what began as a task was soon turned into a pleasure."

He also casts an eye to the future and rejoices in the fact that "the floor of the chancel is now steel, stone and mosaic, and is thoroughly fireproof; a prophecy," he hopes, "of the day when the floor of the entire church will be similarly treated."

In carrying out the alterations the architect, Mr. Shepley, and Dr. Donald were careful to see to it that substantial foundations were placed under the new chancel floor against the time when the "central structure," meaning of course the altar, though the word itself is not used, should be placed therein. This came later under the Rev. Dr. Mann's leadership.

Thus without parish upheaval of any kind, but with the full endorsement of vestry and proprietors, was accomplished the most considerable change wrought within Trinity since its opening some twenty-five years before.

Of the spiritual side of a minister's work it is not easy to speak, especially after a long lapse of years, for so much never finds its way into records and tables of statistics. But in Dr. Donald's case even the printed reports that have come down to us indicate that a vital spiritual enrichment of parish life was keeping pace with the material changes outlined above. The records show that, during his ministry of a little less than twelve years, five hundred and thirty-six souls were added to the parish in confirmation. The many fine parish organizations that he inherited from Phillips Brooks, some carrying on missionary work, some busied with social relief, some with looking after the poor and destitute, others having to do with the care and developing of the young — all these went on without any great let-down or change. The Year Books now on file for all these years bear witness to the accuracy of this statement. Out of my own memory I can speak for the first nine years of Dr. Donald's term of service, the period of my assistantship; and I think I am correct in saying that at the end of these nine

years all the organizations just referred to, organizations in which the spiritual life of the parish found expression, were still strong and efficient.

The chancel alteration mentioned above was the last important work carried through by Dr. Donald. In the following year—1903—his illness developed and increased as the months went by. At the very end of the year, in his annual message to the parishioners, he said: "I wish it were possible, I know only too well it is not, to express a fraction of my affectionate appreciation of the kindness and loyalty and good work of the members of Trinity Parish. Daily I thank God for the privilege of ministering to you."

These words proved to be his valedictory; never again did he address his people; he passed away peacefully some months later—on the morning of the Feast of the Transfiguration. In years he was not an old man; but his hair was white, his beard was white, his natural forces spent. His age was fifty-six years plus eight days.

These valedictory words suggest something not as yet mentioned—his deep and abiding affection for the people of Trinity Church. The expression of this affection runs, a golden thread, clean through his yearly messages—an affection broad enough to embrace even the sacred edifice itself. Once upon arriving from Europe, he took, at the station, a cab for his home; when the carriage was abreast of Trinity Church, he stopped it, thrust his head out of the window, and gazed and gazed and gazed; and then, turning to one with him, he said: "Abroad I've seen no modern church building to be compared to it! How I love every stone of it!"

VI

REV. ALEXANDER MANN, D.D.

Eleventh Rector of Trinity Church

1905–1922

BY RT. REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL, D.D.

Bishop of Massachusetts
Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, 1914–1917

Alexander Mann

TO describe adequately the life of a parish like Trinity Church over a period of eighteen years is indeed an impossible task. Of course statistics may be given of the number of communicants and of those baptized and confirmed. The changes and improvements in the physical structure may be described as well as the growth and development of parish organizations. The amount of money given for various causes may be accurately set down. But these things are merely the externals of parish life. No doubt they may be manifestations of the inner reality, but they are not that reality which is spiritual.

The life of the parish has to do with the worship, the sacrifice, and the service of hundreds of men and women unknown to succeeding generations, with the conquest of unworthy impulses in human hearts, with comfort given to the sick and dying, with the coming of new hope and aspiration. In eighteen years a mighty army passed in and out of Trinity Church; for example, on the Easter Days of those years in the neighborhood of eighty thousand people heard the good news of the Resurrection proclaimed. Between the lines of this chapter, I would have you feel the ebb and the flow of a great human tide touched with the life of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

It is not too much to say that in 1905 Trinity Church was in a serious if not a critical situation. Dr. Donald had not been well the last years of his devoted ministry. There had been a period of almost a year under the wise leadership of the Rev. Dr. Joseph N. Blanchard, with the assistance of the Rev. Edward S. Travers (Mr. Kidner still being in charge of St. Andrew's Church). However, any interregnum, no matter how efficient, can never mark forward progress. At such a time the wardens and vestry called the Rev. Alexander Mann, D.D., as rector, to take office on Trinity Sunday, 1905. From one

point of view, the call was an experiment, for Dr. Mann had no associations with New England. On the other hand, in his forty-fifth year, he already had a wide experience in the Church. He was born in Geneva, New York, into a family well known for generations in the Church, his father being rector of the parish in Watkins Glen, New York, for many years; and his older brother later to be Bishop of North Dakota and of Southern Florida. Dr. Mann was graduated from Hobart College and from the General Theological Seminary. After a short time as assistant in St. James' Church, Buffalo, he became the associate of his uncle, the rector of Grace Church, Orange, New Jersey. There he remained for seventeen years, succeeding upon his uncle's death in 1900 to the rectorship. During these years Dr. Mann had not only been successful as a parish minister but had taken an active part in the larger life of the Diocese of Newark, serving as archdeacon, a delegate to the General Convention, and at one time almost being elected bishop of the diocese. He came to the rectorship of Trinity Church with wide experience and in the prime of manhood. Nine years previously he had married Miss Nellie Gerrish Knapp of Orange. Those of us who have been assistants at Trinity and privileged to share the family life of the Trinity rectory know how ideally happy that marriage has been through all the succeeding years.

Every period marks, of course, a transition, but peculiarly is this true of Dr. Mann's rectorship. Coming within a little over twelve years of the death of Bishop Brooks, he found that the men and women active in the parish had been fellow laborers with Bishop Brooks and Dr. Donald. The parish was preëminently a great preaching station. Copley Square was still "up-town." During the rectorship of these years conditions were to change materially with the advent of the automobile and the Back Bay apartment house. Trinity, we shall see, during these years was to be reorganized in many ways to meet these new conditions. To-day the parish is operat-

Photograph by Bachrach

REV. ALEXANDER MANN

Eleventh Rector

ing with methods and a point of view largely established by Dr. Mann. It was he more than anyone who laid the foundation of the modern Trinity. For many reasons it is interesting in this historical sketch to name the wardens and vestrymen who called Dr. Mann in 1905: wardens, Charles R. Codman, Robert Treat Paine; vestrymen, Edward N. Fenno, Alexander Cochrane, William P. Blake, Francis B. Sears, Harcourt Amory, Amory A. Lawrence, William G. Brooks, Robert M. Cushing, Robert Amory, Frank Merriam, John Parkinson, William V. Kellen, and James M. Crafts. Of these only William V. Kellen still serves as this is written.

One of the first problems to be met by the new rector had to do with St. Andrew's Church, a mission conducted by Trinity in the West End under the leadership of the Rev. Reuben Kidner. For a number of years the population had been changing in character, becoming almost wholly Jewish. After careful thought and consultation with Bishop Lawrence and others, it was decided to give up further maintenance of church services at St. Andrew's. Dr. Mann wrote in his first Year Book, in 1906, these prophetic words: "Among all the changes of church and parish life in this city, the one thing that humanly speaking seems certain is that Trinity Church will remain where it is, and protected by its unique situation will continue to minister not to fewer but to more people as the years go by. In view of this fact it would seem to be the part of wise parish policy to concentrate our energies here and to develop to the utmost the capabilities of the great Church for Christian worship and service." Of course there were many devoted to St. Andrew's who were disappointed at this decision, but looking back from this vantage ground, we can appreciate to the fullest extent the wisdom shown. It is interesting to note that the sale of St. Andrew's, later, made possible the purchase of Trinity House, and still later with the giving up of Trinity House, the remodelling of the parish house, where St. Andrew's Hall testifies to this fact. With the

change of St. Andrew's, Mr. Kidner became an assistant minister of Trinity Church. No one of us can think of these years until his death in 1919 without reference to his unusual and loving ministry. For over forty years he moved in and out of the homes of the people of the parish, losing himself in his affection for them. Truly, in Christlikeness, his was a great ministry. As Dr. Mann wrote in 1919: "His long service went back to the days of Phillips Brooks. What that devoted pastoral ministry and that gentle sympathetic character meant to the Parish and the community was shown by the great gathering of parishioners and citizens which filled the Church at his burial. His very memory is a benediction."

But to return to the parish of 1906, at once certain changes were made. The industrial and employment agencies were merged and, most important, a parish branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions was established. The Day Nursery was moved to East Boston after a careful survey had been made of the whole city. The work of Trinity Club for Men was greatly enlarged in scope and in interest. The next year a plot of ground on South Huntington Avenue was purchased for a new Trinity Home for the Aged. Also work among the women students in Greater Boston was started. All who know Trinity Church to-day will realize the far-reaching significance of these developments during the first years of Dr. Mann's rectorship.

One of the great occasions in the history of the parish occurred on January 22, 1910, when there was held the service of the presentation and unveiling of the Citizen's Memorial to Phillips Brooks. The service was held in the church and was conducted by Bishop Lawrence. There were present in the chancel ministers of nearly all the Christian churches of Boston, and representatives also of the Jewish synagogues, together with a great congregation including the Governor of the Commonwealth, representatives from the City Government and from Harvard University. The address of presentation was

made by Major Henry L. Higginson, a classmate and lifelong friend of Phillips Brooks, and the address of acceptance by the rector of the parish.

These years witnessed two notable additions to the equipment of the parish. On January 3, 1910, the new Trinity Church Home for the Aged (Rachel Allen Memorial) was formally opened with a brief service of benediction. Within a short time a wing was added by the gift of a generous parishioner. Thus was firmly established in a splendid homelike building a work which has been through many years a haven of rest and of peace to many in their declining years.

Early in Dr. Mann's rectorship there had been a plan to acquire club rooms for the use of the boys of the parish. In 1911 came the purchase and equipment of a house on St. James Avenue known as Trinity House. There were club rooms for the men on the second floor, rooms for the boys on the third, a large and beautiful reception room on the first floor, a gymnasium and a kitchen in the basement, and a most comfortable suite of rooms on the fourth floor for one of the clergy. Certainly Trinity House was a great feature of the life of the parish for over a decade. Here met the boys of the parish in many varied groups; students in the many educational institutions found a welcome; the men and women of the parish used the house for meetings and recreation, and it was a home to successive assistant ministers of the parish. The primary department of the Church School met in the reception room on Sunday mornings. One great reason for the success of Trinity House was the fact that throughout its entire history Mrs. Harry Hunter was the matron. Known to generations of boys as "Ma" Hunter, with a remarkable combination of efficiency, self-sacrificing service, and contagious cheerfulness, she was indeed a vital factor in the whole life of the house. The assistant ministers who lived there will always be grateful for her care and friendship. What memories return at the mention of Trinity House—of pool tournaments for the ushers,

of Sunday evening conferences in which the greatest problems of life were discussed, the noise of over one hundred boys almost lifting the roof, and of New Year's receptions.

With the purchase of Trinity House the boys' work of the parish became splendidly established. This was due to the interest and enthusiasm of the Rev. Edwin Van Etten, who came to the parish just before Trinity House was opened, and of Mr. Richard Ranger, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who while engaged in the printing business in Boston for many years gave remarkable service to the parish in leadership of the boys. A number of active clubs were formed, finally combining into a chapter of the Knights of King Arthur. During the previous summer for the first time the boys were taken away for a camping experience, a camp at East Gloucester having been secured.

Dr. Mann's introduction to the Year Book of 1912 gives a picture of the parish at this period. "During the past year the same large congregations at the Sunday services, both morning and afternoon, have cheered and stimulated your clergy. The obligations of the Parish for charitable and missionary work at home and abroad have been promptly and fully met. The same fine spirit pervades our Church School, and the work is being carefully done. The School is graded and promotions are made according to the results of the semi-annual examinations. Our Home for the Aged has finished another year of quiet service to the one class of people most commonly disregarded today." Then follows a statement which reveals Dr. Mann's ability in selecting helpers. All who know of Mrs. Van de Carr's work through many years will recognize the truth of what Dr. Mann wrote a year after Mrs. Van de Carr became matron. "And here let me pay a deserved tribute to our Matron, Mrs. Van de Carr, to whom, above all, the credit belongs. Mrs. Van de Carr has become a recognized power for good in East Boston. Working in thorough harmony with other charitable agencies, she is the wise and helpful friend of

many poor mothers. Under her guidance the Nursery is becoming much more than a nursery; it has become a 'neighborhood house' and its friendly activities radiate in various directions."

In this same Year Book, mention is made of the formation of the Trinity League, a means of uniting all the women of the parish in one effective organization. This League was a forerunner of our Church Service League—another indication of the deep foundations laid during Dr. Mann's rectorship.

As one reads over the records of the parish, it is to realize how Trinity touched the great events and people of the day. There was an annual service for peace with addresses by Bishop Lawrence, the Hon. Samuel J. Elder, and Dean Henry Wade Rogers of the Yale Law School; a memorial service for those who were lost on the Titanic; successive baccalaureate services for the graduating class of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; a service to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of the King James Translation of the Bible; the inauguration of President Murlin of Boston University; services for the American Church Institute for Negroes, the Church Temperance Society, Atlanta University, the Greater Boston Federation of Churches, Tuskegee Institute with addresses by Bishop Lawrence and Booker T. Washington; the consecrations of Bishops Atwood, Babcock, and Slattery; annual services for women students addressed by Hamilton Wright Mabie, the author, Winston Churchill, Professor Bliss Perry, President Faunce of Brown, and others, and sermons by distinguished visitors such as Bishop Boyd-Carpenter, the Rt. Rev. Anthony Mitchell, D.D., Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney, and the then Canon Hensley Henson.

For a number of years Dr. Mann, in company with many others in the parish, had felt the need of a symbol of worship in the chancel. So in 1914 a model of a baldachino was erected, designed by Mr. Charles A. Coolidge of the vestry. Dr. Mann wrote, "By the erection of this model it has been

made possible to test the design and the color scheme under the actual conditions which the finished work must meet. One thing is already clear and that is that the interior of the Church now 'culminates' as it never did before, and culminates also where it should, in the symbol of worship."

The next years in the history of the parish, as of the whole world, were to be shadowed by the experience of the War. In 1914 Dr. Mann wrote: "There is no room left for easy self-complacency. We have come to recognize something of the tremendous power of those spiritual forces of pride, hatred, envy, and covetousness that contend with the Spirit of Christ for the control of human life." There was in the autumn of 1914 a notable peace service with addresses by Bishop Lawrence, the Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., minister of the New Old South Church, and the Hon. Samuel J. Elder, with a congregation crowding the church to the doors, eager to pray for the peace of the world.

When this country entered the War, the parish took her full share of responsibility. The service flag carried one hundred and sixty stars. Five who lost their lives are commemorated by a tablet in the front vestibule. Bishop Lawrence, coming for confirmation just after the declaration of war, requested the parish to furnish equipment for a regimental chaplain and at once two such equipments were given. Long before we had entered the War a chapter of the American Red Cross had been working in the parish house. Now the work was greatly increased in scope. A farewell service for Base Hospital No. 6 was held in the church with addresses by Bishop Lawrence and the chaplain. Arrangements were made at once to enroll the members of the parish in effective service for the Red Cross. In many ways the weekly calendars of these years of the War reveal the spirit of the parish. Constant offerings for the Red Cross, for boxes to be sent to Base Hospital No. 6, for the expenses of the War Commission of the general Church, organized and directed by

Bishop Lawrence, the closing of the parish house to save fuel, a great service at which the preacher was the Rt. Honorable and Most Reverend Cosmo Gordon Lang, D.D., Archbishop of York. So the details might be extended to great length. Best of all, as one looks back, in a period of excitement and hate, the emphasis from the pulpit of Trinity Church was always Christian, Dr. Mann revealing his own broad and sympathetic nature.

During these years of Dr. Mann's leadership, Trinity Church always took her full share and responsibility in the work of the general Church, never once in all this time failing to reach the apportionment asked, even when, under the impetus of the Nationwide Campaign, the figure quadrupled to the neighborhood of $40,000. At first only special offerings were taken at stated intervals, then came the offering at every Sunday service, until finally the weekly pledge envelope was introduced with the every member canvass, and with the installation of the devoted and efficient Miss Elsie B. Gillies as parish secretary. But in addition to the regular budget for the work of the general Church and the parish, including such parish charities as the Home for the Aged and the Day Nursery and Neighborhood House, Trinity responded to many notable special appeals. When Bishop Lawrence established the Church Pension Fund and appealed to the whole Church, Trinity responded with a gift of over $141,000. As the pages of the weekly calendars are turned, there are found the names of the great missionary heroes of the Church, coming to tell of their work and going on their way encouraged by the response of the parish: Bishop Rowe from Alaska, Bishop Roots from China, Bishop Brent from the Philippines—to mention but a few. There were the annual appeals for diocesan causes, for the Episcopal City Mission, and there were many requests for the aid of various community projects. One such occurred during a period of economic depression when, at the beginning of a Sunday morning service, some few hundred unemployed men appeared

unexpectedly with the demand that the rector preach on "Unemployment," and that the offering for the day be given to the unemployed. That Sunday happened to be the designated time for the annual appeal for Foreign Missions. Dr. Mann welcomed the men most cordially to the service; promised to take an offering the next Sunday for the needy, to be distributed by a well-known social agency, the Boston Provident Association; and then preached a very able sermon on "Foreign Missions of To-day." In this way, what might have been a difficult situation was met with wisdom, understanding, and good will.

Certainly one of Dr. Mann's greatest services to the parish was the establishing of the Phillips Brooks Memorial Endowment Fund. Dr. Donald had referred constantly to the need of an adequate endowment. Both Bishop Lawrence and Dr. Mann had written and spoken of the absolute necessity of securing an increase in the permanent funds of the church. A great service had been held commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Phillips Brooks, with Dr. Leighton Parks as the preacher. With the inspiration of this service as a background, and with the War over, Dr. Mann, the wardens, and vestry set out to raise $250,000 as the Phillips Brooks Memorial Endowment Fund. As a result, approximately $120,000 was secured in cash and about $130,000 in pledges and bequests. There were many helpful workers in this campaign, but I am certain that all will agree that the result was made possible only by the unselfish and indefatigable labor of the rector, who wrote countless personal letters and made any number of calls. To-day this endowment has been increased, and it must continue, if the parish is to do her great work in the long future. The great initial response was made possible through the leadership of Dr. Mann.

Reference has been made to the camp rented for boys at East Gloucester. This camp was moved to a farm on the shores of Bow Lake, Strafford, New Hampshire. After this place had

been leased for several summers, in 1920, sixty-five acres on the shore of this beautiful lake were purchased through the generous interest and gift of the senior warden, Mr. Edward W. Hutchins. Here again in the rectorship of Dr. Mann is an achievement which has meant much in the life of the parish.

The staff at Trinity Church worked and lived together as one great family. Especially were Dr. Mann's relations with his various assistants ideal. We were all made to feel that we were associates and as such were trusted with real responsibility. The rectory was a home always open to us at any time. I wish that it were possible to enumerate the contribution of each assistant. Of Mr. Kidner I have already written, though too much cannot be said of his beautiful life and influence. The Rev. Edward Travers was an assistant minister when Dr. Mann came as rector. Soon after he resigned to become chaplain of the United States Military Academy at West Point. Then followed the Rev. Appleton Grannis, Rector of St. Anne's Church, Lowell; the Rev. Ernest Tuthill, Rector of Grace Church, Tucson, Arizona; the Rev. Edwin J. Van Etten, D.D., Rector of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh; the Rev. Gabriel Farrell, Director of Perkins Institute and Massachusetts School for the Blind; the Rev. John S. Moses, Rector of the Church of the Redeemer, Chestnut Hill, Brookline; the Rev. Russell Moodey, Rector of Grace Church, Muncie, Indiana; and the Rev. John Ridout, who served after Dr. Mann's resignation as minister-in-charge and who died a year ago. Mention should also be made of the organists: Dr. Wallace Goodrich, Dean of the Boston Conservatory of Music; Mr. Ronald Grant; Mr. Ernest Mitchell, now the organist of Grace Church, New York; and Mr. Francis W. Snow, the present organist of the church.

It is difficult to do adequate justice, in the account of one rectorship, to those whose services have continued over a long period of time. Mr. Charles E. Chester's connection with the parish was almost coterminous with that of Mr. Kidner, both

coming in the days of Dr. Brooks and both dying in active service at almost the end of Dr. Mann's rectorship. I wish that there were space to pay adequate tribute to Mr. Chester's personality and work. There is a tablet in the Clarendon Street vestibule to his memory. Mr. Harold Miller, long his assistant and now the present sexton, has carried on with the same devotion and ability.

Did any parish ever have two such parish visitors as Miss Mitchell and Mrs. Groves! I can see them now as they used to sit with their desks facing each other in the passageway as it was before the parish house was remodelled: Miss Mitchell, with her work for the Industrial Society and the Home for the Aged, who had been connected with the parish as visitor since the days of Phillips Brooks, outwardly austere, inwardly unselfish and affectionate; Mrs. Groves leading her large group of mothers in the winter, in the summer acting as matron at the Mothers' Rest, warm-hearted, tireless in her service for others. For over seven years, into the succeeding rectorship, Trinity had the service of Deaconess Theodora Beard, in especial care of the work with women students, under the name of St. Hilda's Guild; calling, assisting in the preparation of confirmation classes and in many other ways. Miss Beard made a deep spiritual impress upon many in the parish.

Through all this period Miss Hersey continued to lead her Bible Class, so remarkable in the annals of any church, really a parish within a parish—a combination of instruction, inspiration, generous giving, and fellowship. Miss Snelling acted as the efficient parish librarian and director of the Lenten choir. Miss Sarah Ginn was a tower of strength in the Church School. Mr. Robert D. Reynolds and the devoted ushers of the church formed themselves into a happy group as the Ushers' Club, and gave invaluable service.

It is impossible to mention all those who contributed to these fruitful years. In 1910 Mr. Robert Treat Paine died after a remarkable service of upward of thirty years as warden

and vestryman. The close personal friend of Bishop Brooks, as the minutes of the wardens and vestry stated, "No layman has ever exceeded him in devotion to the best and highest interests of Trinity Church." Many times I have heard Dr. Mann describe Mr. Paine's loyal support through the first years of his rectorship. In 1916 the children of Mr. Paine erected in his memory the present beautiful pulpit. As Dr. Mann wrote at the time: "The pulpit in memory of Robert Treat Paine not only witnesses by its exquisite wood carving to the continuity of the Prophetic office in the Church and to the Incarnate Life of Jesus Christ as the one great theme of Christian preaching, but it testifies also to the spiritual influence of a noble friendship, linking together as it does the memory of a great preacher and a great layman."

In 1917 Colonel Charles R. Codman resigned as senior warden after a notable service of fifty years as vestryman and warden. He was succeeded by Mr. Edward W. Hutchins, who had been for a number of years a vestryman. The next decade in the parish was to be marked by the influence of Mr. Hutchins's devoted and wise leadership. Dr. Mann and he were warm friends, and many were the conferences between senior warden and rector. With a deep love of Trinity Church, with balanced judgment and high ideals, Mr. Hutchins made indeed a great contribution. No history of this period would be complete without mention also of the services of Mr. Harcourt Amory as junior warden and of Mr. Francis B. Sears as treasurer.

The rector of Trinity Church has always by his position an opportunity to be of help beyond the parish in the affairs of the diocese, of the general Church, and of the community. In all these spheres Dr. Mann played an important part. In all the diocesan projects he was a loyal supporter of the bishop. He was president of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches for several terms and was for many years trustee of the Boston Public Library, by appointment of the mayor, at the time

of his resignation being president of the Board. In 1917 Mr. Josiah H. Benton left a large sum of money to be administered under certain contingencies for the relief of the poor of Boston by the rector of Trinity Church. It was Dr. Mann, in consultation with Mr. Hutchins, who first administered this fund on the broadest possible grounds and set the procedure to be followed by all succeeding rectors. But perhaps Dr. Mann's greatest contribution, outside of the parish, was his service at a number of General Conventions. He had been a delegate many times when in 1913 he was elected president of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. He was so capable as a presiding officer and so eminently fair in all his decisions and appointments that he was reëlected unanimously at the three succeeding conventions, indeed a notable tribute. One of the historic occasions at these conventions was the visit of Cardinal Mercier in Detroit in 1919. The address of welcome of Dr. Mann made such a deep impression that I am including it in this chapter, not only because the references are to great events in history, but also because this address is an excellent example of the style of one who preached from the Trinity pulpit for almost eighteen years.

"Your Eminence:

"It is my happy privilege, as the President of this House, to extend to you, Sir, the respectful and the friendly greetings of this House. Once in three years this House of Clerical and Lay Deputies representing this national Church, coming, as the standards will show you, from every state in the union and from the Island Possessions of the United States, meets together with the House of Bishops to legislate upon the affairs of this Communion. It frequently happens that the House of Deputies suspends its session that it may greet and welcome some distinguished visitor, and while I can recall several such occasions, I can remember none, Sir, when the House of Deputies showed in more unmistakable fashion its feeling of re-

spect and honor for a visitor. Out of the murky confusion of the first two years of the war, two figures gradually became plain to the eyes of the American people. One was the figure of the King of Belgium, personifying as he did to us the truth, the honor, and the courage of the Belgian people who refused to break their plighted word and who met the onrush of the overwhelming forces of Germany with that heroic resistance that the world will never forget. There is a cartoon which may be familiar to you which I think fairly represents the judgment which the American people formed concerning the King of Belgium and his people. It represents the King standing in the midst of a scene of utter desolation; all around are ruined buildings and devastated fields, and by his side is standing the figure of the Emperor of Germany uttering the words, 'You see what has come out of a disregard of my request. You have now lost everything.' And the King of Belgium's answer is 'No, I have kept my soul!'

"But it is, Sir, to that other figure which became plain to us during those first two years of the war that this assembly of Christian men, representing a great historic Communion, turns with a deeper regard and, if I may say it, with a more affectionate interest. Some of us had known before the war something of the scholar and the theologian of the University of Louvain. But it is not in times of peace, it is in times of danger when the wolves are ravaging the flock, that the character of the shepherd stands out most clearly. The dauntless courage with which you as the good shepherd of the Belgian people dared to rebuke the brutal outrage of the invasion, a courage that refused to be cowed, the faith from which emanated that glorious Christmas pastoral of yours to the people of Belgium on Christmas Day, 1914, in which you bade them be of good courage and assured them that the God of truth and righteousness and judgment still ruled this world, and that the outcome would be honor and peace, and then later on that most pathetic though at the time unavailing appeal of yours against

the brutal deportation of the Belgian people, recalling to us the darkest days of pagan Rome, that appeal which, though it failed to impress or to change the policy of the conqueror, found a response in the heart and mind and conscience of every Christian man throughout the world—it is for these reasons that we venture to greet you with an affectionate regard. It is because we see in you those inner characteristics of the true Shepherd of the flock, those marks of character that make it plain to us that you have drunk of His cup and been baptized with His baptism. It is, Sir, because the American people and this House of Christian men see in you and in your career something that corresponds to the print of the nails, that we greet you today and hail you for what you are, the worthy representative of a venerable Christian communion, a brave patriot, a great Churchman, and a great Christian!"

In 1908 Dr. Mann was elected Bishop of the Diocese of Washington but declined because he had been at Trinity for only three years. In 1915 the Diocese of Newark chose him as suffragan bishop and in 1917 the Diocese of Western New York elected him as bishop. The latter was an especially appealing call, as it meant a return to the scenes of boyhood, of college days, and of his early ministry. But the United States had just entered the War and Dr. Mann, among other reasons, felt that he could not leave his parish during such days of crisis. In 1922 he accepted his election as Bishop of Pittsburgh, being consecrated in Pittsburgh on January 25, 1922, with his brother as consecrator, Bishop Lawrence as preacher, and two former assistants as attending presbyters, in the presence of many Trinity friends and parishioners who had journeyed to Pittsburgh for the occasion.

As one looks back there are certain pictures which stand out so clearly: Dr. Mann standing in the pulpit, holding his Bible in his left arm, discoursing upon one of his heroes, the great Apostle to the Gentiles; Mr. Kidner standing in the Claren-

don Street vestibule affectionately punching one of his boys; Mr. Chester with black skull cap and gown flitting about the church, selecting vestrymen, in strict order of seniority, to take the offering. But lack of space prevents further reminiscences.

At the end of ten years Dr. Mann wrote in the Year Book: "Ten years ago at the beginning of my ministry in this Parish, I closed the introduction to the Year Book with the prayer 'that the blessing of Him who is the author of peace and lover of concord might be upon us as we lived and worked together for the glory of His name and the good of His church.' Today as I look back, while I see there the record of many mistakes and failures on my part, I see also the blessed fulfillment of that prayer and I thank God with an ever deepening sense of gratitude for the mutual confidence and affection which exist between minister and people." These words are characteristic of the broad, humble, religious leadership of the rector. Those of us who followed after know the deep foundations which were laid and which will always affect the future life of the parish. We thank God for every remembrance of these years.

VII

REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL, D.D.

Twelfth Rector of Trinity Church

1923–1930

BY REV. ARTHUR O. PHINNEY

Rector of St. Stephen's Memorial Church, Lynn, Mass.
Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, 1923–1928

Henry Knox Sherrill

THE Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, D.D., now Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts, was born in Brooklyn, New York, November 6, 1890, the son of Henry Williams Sherrill and Maria Knox (Mills). Prepared at Hotchkiss, he graduated from Yale in 1911 with the degree of A.B., and received his theological training at the Episcopal Theological School, graduating with the degree of B.D. in 1914. From 1914 to 1917 he was assistant to Dr. Mann at Trinity Church, where he was greatly beloved by all those with whom he came in contact. In the calendar, written on the occasion of the farewell service held at Trinity Church for Base Hospital Unit No. 6, A. E. F., of which Mr. Sherrill was chaplain for two years (1917–1919), Dr. Mann writes: "Trinity Church makes a real sacrifice for the country in letting Mr. Sherrill go. All of us have come to love him and to trust him. Modest, straightforward, clear-headed, and efficient, he is eminently fitted for the important work of chaplain of a Hospital Unit, but how sorely we shall miss him! May God bless and keep him wherever he goes, is the prayer alike of the people of Trinity, whom he has served so loyally, and the rector, who feels that in losing him he is losing a younger brother."

Such is the kind of man who after the War became rector of the Church of Our Saviour in Brookline for four years, and then, by unanimous vote of the vestry, was elected to be rector of Trinity Church on March 20, 1923, at the age of thirty-two. In September, 1921, while at the Brookline church, he had married Miss Barbara Harris, who, with a great deal of personal charm and character, has aided him most effectually in his work since. Bishop Lawrence instituted the new rector on Trinity Sunday, May 27, 1923, and said in his charge: "My brother, you have, in a sense, come home. The people of this parish elected you because they recognize your worth. You have a people who are loyal. You may be sure you can count

on their spiritual support. And you will lead the parish on to a larger field of influence and of higher idealism." This was indeed a true prophecy of what was to come, for a new era began in the life of Trinity Parish—an era marked by expansion and development along many lines, but especially in the field of religious education and in work with young people. It was characterized in sermon and teaching by an emphasis upon the need of the individual soul for renewed personal consecration to the living Christ and His kingdom. The personality and charm and deep-hearted devotion of the rector played a tremendous part in making his ministry very effective.

In the introduction to his first Year Book, 1923, Dr. Sherrill writes with a deep sense of gratitude of the cordial "welcome home" given him by the people of the parish. "No parish could have been more responsive, more eager to help, than you have been in every way," he says. And that eager responsiveness on the part of parishioners and friends, which soon became energized by deep personal affection for the man, himself, continued throughout the seven years of his rectorship. Hence, on October 12, 1930, two days before his consecration as Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts, he writes in the preface of the Trinity Year Book, on invitation of Dr. Kinsolving, his successor: "It is with a deep sense of gratitude that I look back at the seven years of my Rectorship. No Rector was ever blessed with a more loyal and considerate Staff and people. I thank God and you all for the happy association of these years." While on the other side of the relationship, one might say that truly no parish was ever more completely blessed in having as rector a man who combined in himself the qualities of faithful, devoted pastor, eloquent preacher, and wise administrator, and at the same time was a most devout and self-sacrificing servant of his Master, Jesus Christ. There is little wonder that the parish thrived under his administration, and the community was greatly enriched by the influence of his Christian friendliness. All who came in contact with him

REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL

Twelfth Rector

loved him, and his staff in particular appreciated him for his affectionate friendliness, sympathetic guidance, and keen sense of humor.

From the very start Dr. Sherrill showed a complete understanding of the needs of the parish, gleaned to some extent perhaps from three years as an assistant minister and from his intimate friendship with Dr. Mann. He began at once to make plans for coördinating and expanding the work of the organizations, and for developing the work with young people.

The Rev. John Ridout, who had been minister-in-charge after Dr. Mann's consecration as Bishop of Pittsburgh, continued on the staff to assist with the preaching and pastoral work among the adult members of the congregation. The Rev. Arthur Osgood Phinney, who for three years had been devoting his time to religious education and work with boys and young people at Grace Church, Lawrence, was invited by the rector, wardens, and vestry to take charge of that department of the work at Trinity. He accepted the call and began his work in July, 1923, by taking charge that summer of the Trinity camp for young people at Bow Lake, Strafford, New Hampshire. In September, the Rev. George Crocker Gibbs came from New York to assist in the pastoral and educational work. Members of the staff continuing from Dr. Mann's rectorate were Deaconess Theodora Beard, who had charge of the work with students and young women; Miss Elizabeth L. Mitchell and Mrs. Frances M. Groves, parish visitors; Miss Elsie B. Gillies, parish secretary; Mr. Francis W. Snow, organist and choir-master; and Mr. Harold Miller, sexton.

The wardens and vestry who called Mr. Sherrill were Messrs. Edward W. Hutchins and Robert Treat Paine, wardens; vestrymen: Messrs. Edward N. Fenno, Frank Merriam, William V. Kellen, William H. Lincoln, George H. Lyman, Charles E. Mason, Henry C. Everett, William Caleb Loring, Alexander Whiteside, Charles K. Cummings, Charles A. Coolidge, Wil-

liam Jason Mixter, J. Harleston Parker. They had invited four parishioners, two men and two women, to assist them in a choice.

A loyal group of lay workers, wardens and vestry, heads of organizations, teachers of the Church School, and leaders of various groups, were inspired by the wise counsel, spiritual guidance, and effective leadership of the rector to help plan and carry on the tremendous work of Trinity Parish. For instance, there was Miss Heloise E. Hersey, noted leader and lecturer in literature, secretary of the Trinity Parish Library, much beloved teacher of the 12.20 Bible Class on Sundays, prominent in parish work in religious education, and interested in work with women students. Miss Florence D. Snelling was parish librarian, organist, and choir-mistress for the Girls' Choir. Mr. Robert D. Reynolds was chief usher and president of the Ushers' Club.

Much is being said in these days about over-organization of parish work. But there is always a middle course. A large parish is quite ineffective in practicing Christian principles, unless a goodly number of its members are directed and guided in congenial groups organized for service. If care is taken to see that activities do not overlap and that membership is not duplicated, many different persons can be interested in the work of a parish, and a great deal accomplished for the advancement of the Kingdom through a well thought-out program involving information, inspiration, fellowship, and service. It was with this in mind that the reorganization of Trinity Parish begun under Dr. Mann was expanded and completed under Dr. Sherrill in the formation of Trinity Parish Church Service League. Departments of Missions, Education, Social Service, Publicity, and Finance were formed. A program involving missionary information, instruction in Bible, Church history, Prayer Book, personal religion, and social relationships was outlined. A council of representatives from each organization, meeting once a month under the chairmanship of

the rector, administered the program. Thus every organization was encouraged to participate in a well-rounded program of Christian fellowship and service. Plans for activities of each organization were submitted in the spring of the year, coordinated, and charted for the fall season.

Of particular interest were four meetings for the whole parish each year, one under the auspices of each department—Missions, Education, Social Service—and the other of a purely social nature. These meetings were presided over by the chairmen of the respective departments. The program sometimes consisted of a speaker, or took the form of a demonstration of some of the work being done in the parish. For example, the children of the Church School, or members of the young people's organizations put on a pageant and exhibition of work being done by them in the educational program of the parish. The parish meeting under the Missions Department was usually addressed by some person, lay or clerical, who had just returned from the mission field. The evening meeting of the Social Service Department was for the parish, but there was also a well set-up afternoon conference with a brief service and a supper for all professional and lay workers in Christian social service in the diocese. Perhaps the most unique of these parish meetings, and certainly the one which demonstrated the fine spirit of coöperation and Christian fellowship which obtained throughout the parish, was the Parish Supper held at Ford Hall each year sometime in December. This family gathering was inaugurated under Dr. Sherrill. The wardens and vestry and their wives were in the receiving line with the rector and Mrs. Sherrill at the reception which was held just before the supper. Four to five hundred persons of all walks in life sat down to eat together—true Christian fellowship. Dr. Sherrill prized these parish gatherings highly, and always presided over them. No man could have had a richer, more varied fund of appropriate stories for every occasion than he had. He possessed the ability and the knack

of always saying the right thing at the right time, and in just the right way, so that all felt his generous, warm, friendly spirit.

One of the most interesting and worthwhile aspects of the work done under Dr. Sherrill's leadership was that with young people. Very early in his rectorship it was quite evident that such work needed redirection and coördination. There were numerous clubs which had sprung up to meet the needs of the various groups among the boys, and a similar situation obtained with the girls. The men of college age were not being looked after at all. The committee of religious education of the parish undertook to remedy the situation by a well thought-out plan. Deaconess Theodora Beard and Miss Heloise E. Hersey were indefatigable workers on this committee. This program included an organization which embraced all the boys of the parish, assigning them to age groupings or degrees to meet the needs and interests of the boy at various stages of his development. An organization was found ready at hand for this purpose in the Order of Sir Galahad, which had been established by Archdeacon Ernest J. Dennen some twenty years before, and which had proved its merit in a number of parishes in the diocese. A companion organization built up along the same lines as the Order of Sir Galahad was selected for the girls, called the Order of the Fleur de Lis. Both of these organizations proved their worth. Under capable leadership and a well-rounded program an attempt was made, and to a notable extent carried out, to develop each youngster on the physical, social, intellectual, and devotional sides of his nature. These orders also provided the expressional activity for the Church School classes, which met for instruction on Sunday. The various existing clubs and societies by common consent were merged into these larger, comprehensive groups.

For some time, effective and devoted work for college girls had been carried on in the parish by Deaconess Beard. In her

quiet, sympathetic, and consecrated way she gave of her friendliness and inspiration to the young women who came to her for advice, and drew them into a religious organization which met every other week, called St. Hilda's Guild. But there was nothing provided for the men students—the old students' club having dropped out of existence. On Sunday mornings Dr. Sherrill was preaching to a crowded church, and these congregations were largely composed of students. It was noticed that many students came again and again and seemed interested in making Trinity their Church home. When questioned, it appeared that a majority of them needed something more than the religious service to tie to. They needed social and recreational activities under good auspices and among congenial, high-minded companions. The needs and interests of this group were discussed by the educational committee, and it was decided to form a young people's organization along the lines of the Young People's Fellowship, and to merge the St. Hilda's Guild with it. At first young people residing in the parish banded together, and acting as a nucleus drew in and interested many students from among the hundreds who attended the services every Sunday. The first president was a Trinity boy, Nelson W. Bryant, who was at the time a student in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, and at the present writing is rector of St. George's Church, Newport, Rhode Island. Under his efficient leadership and the guidance of members of the staff and the educational committee, students from the many schools and colleges in and round about Boston were drawn into the active life of the parish.

In the belief that in this day of youth movements it would be well for the young people to learn to govern themselves, a Young People's Council was formed. This consisted of representatives from each of the young people's organizations, who met to correlate programs and to legislate for young people, especially in their recreational and expressional activities.

Along the line of study, in addition to the usual Church School curriculum of the Christian Nurture Series, courses were offered by the Educational Department for young people of college age and for adults. A Home Department was also established to reach those persons, young and old, unable to come to the church or parish house. Later, an attempt was made to carry on a program of week-day religious education in coöperation with the churches and private schools of the Back Bay.

Soon after this comprehensive program got under way, it was quite evident that the increased impetus given to the work with young people would seriously overtax the facilities of Trinity House. It was not surprising in the next year, therefore, to hear the rector's announcement that the wardens and vestry had agreed to sell Trinity House and to devote the proceeds to enlarge the facilities of the parish house by putting in a third floor, for use of young people, building an up-to-date stage in the assembly hall, and a dining room in the basement. Dr. Sherrill comments on this change in his preface to the Trinity Year Book of 1924: "The outstanding event in the past year has been the remodeling of the Parish House. The changes which have been made have aided us greatly. The offices for the staff, the new dining room, the beautiful library, the improved St. Andrew's Hall, named for St. Andrew's Church, and the new floor for young people—all are in constant use. It means a great deal to have everything concentrated under one roof. We owe a debt of gratitude to the Wardens and Vestry for making this improvement possible, especially to our architect Vestryman, Mr. Charles A. Coolidge. The sale of Trinity House was necessary, but it was with genuine regret that many of us saw 93 St. James Avenue pass into other uses. For thirteen years Trinity House has been invaluable to the Parish. There are hundreds who can look back to happy and profitable hours spent there." Mrs. Harry Hunter continued her splendid work in the parish house for a time,

and was succeeded by Mrs. Ethel M. Lockwood, who became the capable dietitian at Trinity Camp as well.

Another aid in strengthening the hold of Trinity Church upon the young people was the "Camp" at Bow Lake, New Hampshire. This camp site of sixty-five acres was a gift of the senior warden, Mr. Edward W. Hutchins, in 1920, and it has proved of inestimable value in the development of Christian character in the boys and girls. The original idea seems to have been to provide a camping place for the boys and girls of the parish—a place where they could "tent out" for a few weeks each summer. But a larger idea gradually took shape, and the camp became a character training ground in the numberless different ways that a camp can when under the right conditions. It became a part of the educational plan of the parish, with gradually acquired equipment necessary to carry out an up-to-date camp program second to none for a camp of its size. To the original shack built in 1922 were added in the course of the next few years permanent, screened-in sleeping shacks, a hospital building, a director's cottage, a counsellors' lodge, a workshop, and, perhaps the most important factor in the life of the camper, a chapel given anonymously as a memorial by a member of the parish deeply interested in the cause of young people. Added to this equipment was a man of sterling qualities, and with wide experience in boys' work, in the person of Mr. Thomas A. Gibson, who came to the staff in 1926. Hence there was surrounding the lives of Trinity young people a steadily increasing power for the building-up of character.

Not only was Dr. Sherrill a wise and capable administrator, as the organization of the parish showed, but he was an indefatigable pastor and an effective preacher. No person in need in the parish or community was too lowly in station to receive the full and undivided attention of the rector himself. Again and again he was called upon to minister to someone only slightly connected with the parish. He might readily and with

justice have turned the case over to one of his assistants to handle, but that was not his way. He was in and out of the hospitals day after day, and hundreds of sick can attest to his loyal ministrations to them in their need. This love of souls which was his to a peculiarly exceptional degree was carried into every phase of the parish life. Particularly was he anxious that the individual should find a spiritual home in Trinity Church. He writes of the spiritual life of the parish in the preface to the 1926 Year Book and reiterates it in subsequent issues: "The inner life of a Parish can never be revealed by statistics or reports. The spirit of worship, consecrated lives, the devotion of the members of the staff, sacrifices and service on the part of many—all these are impossible to describe—yet the strength of the Parish rests upon our relation to God. May we be given the vision to place first things first."

Again in his sermon on the Sunday following his declination of the bishopric of Pennsylvania, Dr. Sherrill further demonstrated his zeal for souls in speaking of the opportunities of further service at Trinity. "More and more I hope that the people of this community will observe that the doors of this place are open, and if they are going by on business, here is a place into which they may come for a few moments' practice in silence of the presence of the Living God. Here in the heart of the city is a place where man can find God in peace and quietness. I would not dare be satisfied, even if this church were filled five times in the day, when I think of the hundreds and thousands of people who are outside of any Christian Church, yet are children of God and who are religious at heart."

Perhaps the greatest concern of Dr. Sherrill among all the varied responsibilities of the office of rector of a great city parish lay in the services themselves. His aim was to carry on the tradition of Phillips Brooks in making Trinity a great preaching and teaching center. Sunday after Sunday Dr. Sherrill himself preached to a full church with a congregation sel-

dom less than twelve hundred people, among whom were hundreds of students from the colleges and schools in and around Boston. A member of the staff who sat under him year after year once remarked: "No matter on what subject Dr. Sherrill speaks, he always touches me where I live; and he always inspires me with something constructive to hold to, and to utilize in my daily endeavor to lead a Christian life."

The type of the afternoon service was changed from simple Evening Prayer to Choral Evensong, with special music by a choir of men, followed by an organ recital. A new service of a more or less informal nature was instituted in the evening, followed by a "social hour." These services in the evening became quite popular, and the "social hour" provided the opportunity for many in the parish and community to become better acquainted with the clergy and with one another.

From time to time, noted preachers were invited to come to preach to the congregations, among whom were Bishop Headlam of Gloucester; Studdert Kennedy; Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin; Dr. George A. Gordon of the New Old South Church; Dr. Henry D. A. Major, Principal of Ripon Hall, Oxford; Canon Duncan-Jones, Vicar of St. Mary's, Primrose Hill, London; Canon Dwelly of Liverpool; Canon Raven of Liverpool.

Among the missionaries who came to preach at Trinity during this period were the Rev. George P. Mayo, Principal of Blue Ridge Industrial School, Dyke, Virginia; Bishop Hulse of Cuba; Bishop Remington of Eastern Oregon; Dr. Samuel Zwemer of Cairo, Egypt; Bishop Roots of China; Bishop Gilman of China; the Rev. E. Stanley Jones, D.D., of India; Dr. R. B. Teusler of St. Luke's Hospital, Tokyo; and Bishop Rowe of Alaska.

A number of special services enriched the scope of the devotional life of the parish. There were the annual services in memory of Phillips Brooks, with such preachers as Bishop Lawrence, Dr. George A. Gordon, Bishop Slattery, Dean

Washburn, and others. Every day during Lent, noonday services were held with special preachers each week. Among these men were the Rev. Messrs. Luke M. White, D.D., of Montclair, New Jersey; Robert Johnstone, D.D., of Washington, D. C.; Joseph Fort Newton, D.D., of Overbrook, Pennsylvania; W. Russell Bowie, D.D., of New York; Samuel S. Drury, D.D., Rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire; Floyd W. Tomkins, D.D., of Philadelphia; Percy G. Kammerer, Ph.D., of Pittsburgh; Ashley Day Leavitt, D.D., of Harvard Congregational Church in Brookline; Willard L. Sperry, D.D., Dean of the Harvard Divinity School; Hughell Fosbroke, D.D., Dean of the General Seminary, New York; Bishops Lawrence and Slattery.

In the spring there was an annual service in memory of Florence Nightingale; baccalaureate services for the commencements of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and of one of the schools of Boston University; graduation exercises for the nurses of the Children's Hospital and the Massachusetts General Hospital; and the annual service for the Boston Commandery of the Knights Templars.

To spread further the influence of Trinity, the eleven o'clock morning services were broadcast over station WBZ, Springfield, Massachusetts, the first broadcast being on October 18, 1925.

At Christmas and Easter two beautifully costumed and reverently enacted pageants depicting the Christmas and Easter stories were presented by members of the young people's societies under the direction of the parish committee on religious education. Both pageants were given primarily for the Children's Carol Services, the carols and other music describing the action. Each year both pageants were repeated to overflow congregations. The religious educational value to the hundred and more participants as well as to those who looked on was incalculable.

The music at the services during this time was beautifully

rendered by an excellent choir under the leadership of Mr. Francis W. Snow, choir-master and organist, who was untiring in his efforts to make the music second to none in the churches of Boston. His cheerful and effective coöperation in the many special services and pageants was greatly appreciated by all who had them in charge. He was greatly handicapped, however, by an antiquated organ. Dr. Sherrill appealed in the Parish Calendar for a new organ, and on Christmas Day, 1925, he announced "the gift of a magnificent new organ to replace the old one in the west gallery." It contains three complete sets of chorus reeds, many beautiful solo reeds, and cathedral chimes, harp and celesta stops—112 stops in all. The donor was Mrs. T. Jefferson Coolidge.

On October 31, 1926, the new organ was dedicated by Bishop Lawrence at the eleven o'clock service. The *Te Deum* and anthem sung at the service were composed especially for the occasion by Mr. Snow and Mr. Charles Bennett, respectively. Mr. Bennett, who was the bass soloist for a number of years, and was much beloved, died the following year.

Another factor which added greatly to the dignity of the services was the formation of a servers' guild under the direction of the Rev. George C. Gibbs. The guild was named for the traditional St. Christopher. It is a service outlet for the older boys of the Galahad Club and to-day has extended its duties to conducting Sunday noon "pilgrimages" about the church, to explain the wealth of symbolism in the beautiful stained-glass windows and in the furnishings of the church.

During Dr. Sherrill's rectorship many changes were taking place in the life of the parish and in the community, and the rector was keenly alive to the opportunities of service to the community constantly opening up before him. He writes these words in his preface to the Year Book of 1927: "Conditions in the neighborhood of Copley Square are changing rapidly. Almost every month sees the demolition of several private dwellings and the erection of an apartment house or an office build-

ing. These changes are bringing us an increasing opportunity. There are more people near Trinity Church seven days in the week than ever before. This should mean a greater use of the Church, if we are awake to our opportunity. The Sunday afternoon services, and the Sunday evening services are showing encouraging growth, as have the Lenten noon-day services where we have heard many inspiring preachers from other cities. The time is coming when we should have a greater number of week-day services throughout the year. We must plan for the future. In the first place, as I have written many times before, there must be a large addition to the endowment fund that we may have the material means to expand. In the second place we need a chapel seating perhaps two hundred people. Such a chapel would be of daily use. The future seems to be bright with opportunity. Increasingly I admire the vision of those who placed Trinity Church in Copley Square. I pray that we of this generation may have the missionary enthusiasm to carry on their work."

During Dr. Sherrill's rectorship, Trinity Church carried on its fine financial record in giving to the general work of the national Church and in supporting diocesan enterprises. Along with the increase and expansion in the work, there came an increase in giving and in the number of people pledging to the work of the Church. At the end of the year 1922 there were 676 pledges for $52,817, of which $26,500 was paid to the diocese and nation. At the end of 1930 there were 1,116 pledges for $87,254, of which $35,000 was paid to the diocese and nation. Such response to the needs of the Church on the part of the parish called forth repeated commendation from the rector: "A year ago," said Dr. Sherrill, in 1925, "I wrote of the pressing need of extraordinary repairs. It was indeed a serious situation with which we were faced. Thanks to the splendid response to the financial appeals of this year and last, we are well on the way to the solution of the problem. In addition to this we have been able to meet our share of the budget of

the General Church and of the Diocese, and to carry on our development of the Parish. We are nearer a Christian standard of giving."

The endowment funds were materially increased during these years. In May, 1923, the Phillips Brooks Memorial Endowment Fund amounted to $103,420, and at the end of the year 1930 it amounted to $205,074. In the following February, $50,000 more was added, and in April another $10,000, making the total $265,074 or an increase of $161,654 in about seven years' time, due primarily to Dr. Sherrill's efforts.

A word here should be said about the staff. Mr. Ridout became rector of Trinity Church, Parkersburg, West Virginia, in 1925. In 1926, Deaconess Beard joined the staff of Grace Church, New York, and Mr. Gibbs became canon of the American Pro-Cathedral in Paris, France. The Rev. Gardiner M. Day then came on the staff, leaving in 1929 to take up the work with students at Williamstown, Massachusetts. In September, 1926, Miss Ella Aylesbury, for many years choir mother, retired. Mr. Phinney resigned in January, 1928, to become the rector of St. Paul's Church, Concord, New Hampshire, later becoming rector of St. Stephen's Memorial Church in Lynn, Massachusetts. The Rev. William E. Gardner, D.D., whose work with students at the Church of the Messiah had been abandoned for financial reasons, became a member of the staff, taking charge primarily of the educational program of the parish. After Mr. Day left, the Rev. Otis R. Rice came to take up his work with the young people and students. Mr. Harold E. Miller, who had begun his service as assistant sexton under Mr. Chester, and had became sexton upon Mr. Chester's death in 1920, completed twenty-five years of service at Trinity, in 1928. In the same year Mrs. Frances M. Groves likewise completed twenty-five years of service as parish visitor. Miss Mitchell completed her fortieth year of service in 1930.

The parish lost many valuable helpers between 1923 and

1930, but perhaps the greatest loss to both rector and people came in June, 1929, with the death of Mr. Edward Webster Hutchins, for twelve years senior warden and for ten years a vestryman. "No words can describe all that he accomplished for the Parish," wrote Dr. Sherrill. "To the very last, even when he could ill afford the strength, he gave of his best for Trinity Church. Wise in counsel, patient, and considerate in his leadership, as a Parish we can thank God for the life of Edward W. Hutchins." Mr. Edward W. Fenno resigned as a member of the vestry in 1929, after forty-four years of able and devoted service. During these years there had been four rectors of the Church, commencing with Bishop Brooks.

Many well deserved honors came to Dr. Sherrill during the years that he served as rector of Trinity. In May, 1928, at thirty-seven years of age, he was elected Bishop-Coadjutor of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Later he was elected a trustee of the Perkins Institute for the Blind, president of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches, and a member of the Board of Preachers of Harvard University. He served two terms as delegate from the Diocese of Massachusetts to the General Convention (1925 and 1928). Yale, his Alma Mater, granted him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1929, and in 1930 Boston University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. At the presentation of the former degree, Professor William Lyon Phelps gave this estimate of Dr. Sherrill's character and attainments: "Mr. Sherrill is an outstanding figure in all three departments of his profession—he is a first-rate preacher, a first-rate pastor, and a first-rate executive. Every Sunday he preaches to about fifteen hundred listeners, many of whom are young people of enquiring minds. As a pastor he is exceedingly beloved, as an executor he has brought his great church to the highest degree of efficiency. Recently he was elected Bishop-Coadjutor of Pennsylvania, but did not choose to serve. He is broadminded, warm-hearted, and sincere. The words of Chaucer apply perfectly to him:

"Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taught, but first he folowed it himselve."

At the Diocesan Convention in May, 1930, at the age of thirty-nine, Dr. Sherrill was elected Bishop of Massachusetts on the very first ballot. He was the only nominee; there were only a few dissenting votes. He resigned from the rectorship of Trinity the following September and was consecrated October 14, 1930, in Trinity Church, with the Presiding Bishop as consecrator and with Bishop Lawrence as preacher. It is interesting to note that Bishop Mann, under whom he had served as an assistant at Trinity before the War, and at whose consecration Dr. Sherrill served as attending presbyter, was one of the group of bishops who took part in the ceremony.

In his last message to the people of Trinity in the preface to the 1930 Year Book, he writes of the future of the parish under its new leadership: "This month the parish, almost two hundred years old, enters a new era. Mr. Kinsolving can count upon a united parish. I am confident that you will find him sympathetic with the best traditions of Trinity Church. As I have written many times, Trinity, in the heart of the city, has an increasing opportunity. The great years, please God, are ahead. As bishop and as friend, I shall rejoice at every forward step, and shall pray for God's blessing upon the parish we love."

VIII

REV. ARTHUR LEE KINSOLVING, D.D.

Thirteenth Rector of Trinity Church

1930-

BY JEFFREY RICHARDSON BRACKETT, PH.D.

Clerk of Trinity Church

Arthur Lee Kinsolving

IN 1923, when Dr. Mann resigned to become Bishop of Pittsburgh, the wardens and vestry had invited several members of the parish, both men and women, to form with the wardens and several vestrymen a special committee to consider candidates for the rectorship. So in the spring of 1930, when Dr. Sherrill was elected Bishop of Massachusetts, the wardens and vestry asked three women and two men, representing the parishioners, to act with the wardens and four vestrymen as a committee to advise in the choice of a rector.

The names of some forty clergymen came before the committee, from far and wide, including a famous English preacher. The end of July, the wardens and vestry, in whom the proprietors had vested the power of choice, unanimously called the Rev. Arthur Lee Kinsolving, rector of Grace Church, Amherst, Massachusetts, and he accepted the call. He was present at the consecration of Bishop Sherrill in Trinity Church on October 14, and took up his new duties on the last Sunday in that month. He was thirty-one years of age, and unmarried.

Mr. Kinsolving, through both father and mother, came from a long line of excellent and in part distinguished Virginia ancestors. On the maternal side, the Bruces of Charlotte County, there were public-spirited citizens, thinkers, and writers. On the paternal side his great-grandfather, named for George Washington, inherited a large estate in the Piedmont region, and a large stable of fine race horses, but he never allowed them to be raced for money stakes. He was an active Churchman and a lay reader. His only son, among seven daughters, was said to have been destined for the Church. There were reports of some tendencies to skepticism and wildness, but that may have been only a touch of youthful protest to parents who had predetermined his career, and also had named him Ovid Americus! However, he took highest honors at Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, in a class which included

Rutherford B. Hayes and Stanley Matthews, and prepared for the ministry at the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria. He was afterward described by a well-known professor there as genial, delightful, a beautiful reader of the Church service, and an able sermonizer and preacher. Three of his sons became well-known clergymen of the Episcopal Church, one the Bishop of Texas, another the pioneer Bishop of Southern Brazil, and the third, the Rev. Arthur B. Kinsolving, D.D., who is still in his long and honored pastorate at "Old St. Paul's," Baltimore, the mother of the Episcopal churches there. Arthur Lee Kinsolving is his son. Two cousins of the younger Arthur are clergymen; one, after being chaplain at West Point Military Academy, is now dean of the Cathedral at Garden City, Long Island.

The son has borne frequent witness to the helpful influences on him of his parents and of their home life. He watched daily the devoted and effective pastoral work of his father. Both father and son loved their mother state Virginia, and believed that the Southern parsons had made a real contribution to Church life by their qualities of friendliness and companionship. When Kinsolving, settled in New England, was at a Church conference for young people at St. Paul's School, Concord, he was asked by Bishop Sherrill to give the address at a "sunset service," and to speak through it some personal experience. To the father Bishop Sherrill wrote warmly of the great help of the son, especially in his "beautiful address," which told the group how his own home life had largely led him to the ministry.

With this background of the very best, the boy attended the newly developed Gilman Country School of Baltimore. Then he was graduated from the Episcopal High School at Alexandria, Virginia, and from the University of Virginia in 1920, a Bachelor of Arts, after three years' residence. He was admitted to the D.K.E. Fraternity and the Phi Beta Kappa, and was a member of the T.I.L.K.A. Society. He turned from

Photograph by Bachrach

REV. ARTHUR LEE KINSOLVING

THIRTEENTH RECTOR

books to track and tennis; got high marks and did not miss an exercise, in his last year; and in every way gave distinct promise. For a few months at the close of the World War, he was in the Officers' Training Camp at Fortress Monroe.

Then for three years, to 1923, this wholesome and open-minded young man was a Rhodes Scholar at Christ Church, Oxford, England. He made this rare opportunity a time of real intellectual and spiritual enrichment. His letters home to Baltimore give many illuminating glimpses of him. He works as lay assistant at the Christ Church Mission in London, at North Kensington; he has mission meetings in his Oxford rooms; he dines out much, so getting to know men of leadership. He thinks of writing a book—but sagaciously sets that aside, in order to learn more himself before he tries to instruct others! He spends hours in thinking over what he reads and hears. "Really to learn to think"—that's the important matter, as he sees it. He is devout as a member of his own communion, but he goes often to hear leading clergymen of other communions. A notable Presbyterian preacher speaks wonderfully, and Kinsolving spends a whole evening in talk with that preacher. He frequently goes to hear Dr. Selbie, a Congregationalist, the principal of Mansfield College, preach to a crowded chapel. He wrote, after eight years of further experience: "I always aimed to take at least three of my friends to hear him. His sermons, which ran for about forty minutes, never seemed long, and were the most morally searching that I have ever listened to. It is he, I think, who made the greatest inroads into my natural selfishness and complacence, and as I look back to Oxford, it was at those moments of deep worship in Mansfield Chapel that I first glimpsed the meaning of preaching, and hoped to make of it more than a routine business." He has just been talking with Dr. Selbie for an hour on the Atonement. On one Armistice Day the Doctor, who had lost a son in the War, preaches so earnestly that he seems almost inspired, on the text, "I write unto you, young men," a plea

for will to struggle for the worth while. Oxford, said Kinsolving, was "my first intellectual awakening,—my one and only, perhaps; but there was something about the atmosphere there that made one ashamed of continuing in the unthinking life."

With a priest, of the Anglo-Catholics, who seems to him next to Dr. Selbie in spiritual power, he sits for an hour and a half, trying to see the other's point of view, and concludes that "different minds travel by very different paths." He feels the value of reverence devoutly, but he writes: "There is an unhappy casuistry in clinging to phraseologies after they don't mean what they say in the light of common parlance." Again, he writes: "The fact that the first interpretation of Christianity was made solely by Jews accounts for the slighting of the Greek point of view, and if the whole story were known, I think we would have stories of Christ's sanctifying by His approval, loves for beauty, and art and life, which form the highest expression and the greatest passion of so many lives. Surely Christ's view was not bound by the typically eastern view—the realization of the limitations of human nature; for pleasure, contentment and grateful happiness are unmistakably in the picture."

A strong personal influence of those Oxford years was the association with another Baltimore boy, slightly older than he, Alexander Barton, who was then a theological student at Christ Church, whose promising life in the ministry in the United States was cut off only a few years later. Of him, Kinsolving has written: "He interested me in working during vacations at Christ Church Mission in the slums of London, in the Ladbroke Grove district, near the Wormwood Scrubs Prison. The revelation of what joy one can take in ministering in that sort of surroundings was an awakening experience to me, and gave me the beginning of some social vision for the world. Alec's prayer life, and the influence which he exerted through friendship, was a certain witness to us of the kind of life that our

Master wanted from all of us. I think most of us want to find Him embodied in at least one person near our own age, in order to see the issue clearly that confronts our own conscience."

To hear Barton describe his very practical home mission work, Kinsolving writes personal invitations to thirty-five young Englishmen in college, and twenty-three come to Kinsolving's room, for a long evening, to have coffee, cake—and spiritual enlightenment. On Barton's death he wrote: "Alex Barton used to amaze me by lavishing Christian friendship on all of us, putting Christ ahead of his studies, sharing with us his deepest experience. I saw him, though still an undergraduate, ministering vitally to more than a hundred. That one Christian meant more for Christ than the organization of a great cathedral that was the college chapel with five august canons on its staff."

The last Easter holidays were spent in Switzerland, in the beauty of that fair land, but chiefly given to "a pile of detailed critical work, needing lots of memory and close attention." He was admitted to the degree of A.B. in the Honour School of Theology of Oxford. Three years later, Oxford gave him an M.A.

Then, from January to June, 1924, he was at the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. An older clergyman, doing well in a parish far from Boston, who had been at the Virginia Seminary with Kinsolving, writes: "He reminded me of Donald Hankey's beloved chaplain. He showed a well equipped mind and winsome graciousness. I can say of him what St. Paul said of one he loved—'I thank God on every remembrance of him.'"

Then came to Kinsolving, at the age of twenty-five, a call to be rector of Grace Church, Amherst, Massachusetts, with a substantial increase in the salary over that previously paid. A chief attraction to him was the possibility of work with students in the two colleges there and in other colleges, easily reached, in the Connecticut River region. A year later he could

say: "I thank God every day that I came to Amherst." He becomes faculty director of religious activities at Amherst College. The congregation at Grace Church at Easter was said to be larger than had been seen there since Phillips Brooks's visit. His efforts and influence grow with the years. He helps to found a club to interest students from abroad, foreigners, in the colleges. At a supper he entertains thirty students, and there is discussion for two hours. In the college chapel he asks students to take a real part in worship, through familiar hymns and prayers, sung and said together—and an old professor called it the most devotional service he had seen in chapel in fifty years. At the close of one Lent, he makes seventeen addresses in eight days. As to students, he eats with them, smokes with them, and talks over their problems in their own language. A clerical club, led by the Rev. Dr. James Gordon Gilkey and himself, numbers over thirty Amherst students and during the six years of his work there, seventeen graduates began to study for the Christian ministry.

During those six years he participated in conferences at Northfield for both college men and young women, and assisted occasionally at conferences at St. Paul's School, Silver Bay, and Sewanee. He preached occasionally at no less than twenty well-known colleges and schools. He was a member of the executive councils of the Province of New England and of the Episcopal Church for work in colleges. He was chosen honorary canon of Christ Church Cathedral, Springfield, one of the first three clergymen of Western Massachusetts diocese to have that office.

The young minister was carefully watched by intelligent observers of town and gown—because they cared for him. One writes: "He was a man of the world in the best sense. He loved people and he loved life. There was a friendliness and gayety about him which was delightful. If any member of the Parish or of the larger circle of the college was in trouble, he was quickly present. Except for Henry Drummond and Phil-

lips Brooks, I never have been impressed by anyone as I have been by Kinsolving. I have never met anyone like him. His power lay in his sharing with me week after week his own spiritual experience. His sermons were just that." Another close observer describes their first meeting when Kinsolving came to Amherst, a very young man, charming, courteous, tactful; with Southern social ease a little at odds with a winsome shyness. In those six years he certainly grew in power. "He grew more saintly (I am using a strong word intentionally)—there was an awareness of holiness that everyone felt. He did not very obviously speak of sacred things, but his life was permeated by them." One of the most intellectual of the college trustees from a large university and city, a professional philosopher, went to hear Kinsolving preach, and was startled to find that his subject was the Trinity. "But the sermon avoided abstruse points and was so simple and straight from the heart that our philosopher was deeply moved." A very wide-awake young clergyman of Western Massachusetts says: "When I came into this diocese, I found that Arthur was known and loved the length and breadth of it. He had been at Amherst only a few months when the boys in the college recognized that here was a genuine spiritual human being, and soon the grass on the way to the rectory was well worn."

The Rev. C. Leslie Glenn, executive secretary of the Episcopal Church for its work in colleges until his recent acceptance of a call to Christ Church, Cambridge, said of his friend Kinsolving: "If any one quality of his stands out above the rest, I should say it was his great friendliness. . . . He would sit up all night talking to some boy who wanted advice or help, and he had an absolutely contagious enthusiasm which seemed to work wonders with all sorts of people. He would talk to a tramp or an old woman or a college freshman—all with the same enthusiasm and interest." An incident known to Mr. Glenn illustrates Kinsolving's capacity for rapid and realistic action in assisting those in trouble: A man came to

him at Amherst in considerable mental distress, having had a rather acute disagreement with a young woman. "I hate that girl," said the young man, "and I shall not see her any more, but every time I look at this watch chain she gave me I think about her." "Well, take my watch chain and I'll take yours," said Mr. Kinsolving, and he exchanged chains with the man, which surprised the man into a more rational frame of mind.

When Kinsolving went to Boston, Dr. George D. Olds, whose presidency of Amherst College had covered much of Kinsolving's stay in Amherst, wrote an article on him for the *Graduates' Quarterly*. The president witnessed that within a month after Kinsolving became director of religious work, as a member of the faculty, of full professional rank, there was no doubt of the wisdom of his appointment. His inheritance, training, devotion, personality, all united to determine a unique influence which in an unprecedented way was working for good among Amherst students. His intimacy with the men was always close. He quickly became an older brother and confidential friend, wholly informal but without loss of dignity. At a commencement soon afterward, when Kinsolving came before President Pease to receive the degree of Doctor of Divinity, the whole senior class arose and applauded. The words of the award were these: "Arthur Lee Kinsolving; born and trained in Churchly traditions; for six years the beloved guide and companion in spiritual adventure of many an Amherst student; now inspired by the challenge of a great and historic pulpit; broad, deep and winning in sympathies and devotion; a blithe chevalier of Christ."

So there came to "Trinity Church in the City of Boston" this ripening young man, who was just thirty-one years of age but who had filled the years full of rare and rich preparation. When younger, he had inclined to the contemplative and studious life of a scholar; but he had found himself perforce in the life of loving service. Trinity Church had always been open to persons of varied walks of life; it always, as he could

now say, had emphasized the practical side of religion. But a practical side because it was personal religion! People to-day, he said, "are increasingly shy of institutionalized religion. Jesus was the most unofficial of persons in his method. We ministers mainly discover religion where it exists and bring it out. As Phillips Brooks said, the ministry should be the canonization of friendship. The chief need today is a vital, personal religion, as an impelling force, and one that calls for venturing. As was said in *Pilgrim's Progress,* 'It was for the love that he had to his Prince that he ventured as he did.'"

When Kinsolving came to Trinity, a lay worker who had been close by him for several years wrote that he was least interested in the administrative side of Church life, but that he had drawn around him good workers and had not interfered with them as hindrance. If by warm nature he is impulsive, his sober second thought is usually very sound. In his words and deeds, there is added a marked unselfishness, a human and helpful humility. He likes to meet persons and learn from them. When he came to Trinity, the first assistant minister who had led the parish in the interim was a much older man than he. The attitude and the words of the younger to the older were full of appreciation and graciousness. His part in meetings of the wardens and vestry of Trinity, a body of men who are mostly much older than he, has shown marked modesty, open-mindedness, and good judgment.

Dr. Kinsolving has not been called a great preacher. Such words should be kept for a few and justly famous ones. His method of address is simple and earnest; the approach to practical lessons is by personal experiences; there are touches of humor without any loss of dignity. So, for example, when he preaches yearly in Lent at his father's church in Baltimore, he has impressed many hearers more than have some older and outstanding preachers with oratorical attainment. In brief, he is an unusually winning and stimulating preacher; very thoughtful; with good sense, understanding, and sympathy.

Most reverent and understanding of Churchly ways, he has welcomed to his pulpit true leaders of spiritual living in other communions, such, notably, as the Rev. Drs. Charles E. Jefferson and Raymond Calkins, Congregationalists, and Rufus M. Jones of the Society of Friends. Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, is listed among visiting preachers of 1931. Members of other Christian communions are invited to partake of the Holy Communion.

No wonder that the congregations at the morning services have been very large. At many services, chairs have been put in all available places. The rector's reading, notably of the lessons from either Old or New Testament, is always impressive. He is much in demand for sermons and addresses. On one Sunday, in May, 1932, he preaches at the morning service at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York, and that evening officiates and preaches the baccalaureate sermon at Bryn Mawr College. On beginning this service at the college, his eyeglasses fall and are broken, but he goes on unruffled, with a very effective sermon. He preached at the memorial services which opened the convention of the American Legion in Detroit, in September, 1931. By a happy lot, he preached at Harvard College on the Sunday when the Memorial Church was first used.

The Rev. William E. Gardner, D.D., has been the first assistant minister since 1928, the Rev. Otis R. Rice has been the second since 1929, and this coöperative, harmonious staff of clergy was increased from three to four by the coming of the Rev. Robert L. Bull, Jr., in 1931. The organist and choir-master, Francis W. Snow, has just completed ten years in Trinity Church, in a very real ministry of music. Mr. Harold Miller has been at work indefatigably as sexton and previously as assistant to the sexton, for just thirty years. Early in 1932, Miss Elizabeth L. Mitchell resigned as parish visitor, after forty-one years of service. She had been, wrote the rector, our link with the great days of the administration of Phillips Brooks,

"a personality knit into the heart of the parish; known to thousands in the city of Boston for her wisdom, her wit, her kindliness." In 1932, Miss Heloise E. Hersey, long in Boston a well-known teacher of girls, completed a notably helpful work of thirty years as leader of the large Bible class of women which met in the parish house after morning service on Sundays. The wardens and vestry then sent her a warm expression of their appreciation and thanks, on behalf of the parish.

The Church School, now called the Junior Church, under the guidance of Dr. Gardner, long a leader in religious education, is now meeting at the same hour as the Sunday morning Church service, for smallest children up to youth, so that whole families can come and go together. A pamphlet of fifty pages describes in detail this Junior Church. A study of its enrollment in November, 1932, of 293 scholars showed that 193 of them lived in the suburbs and 100 lived in Boston.

The activities of the parish generally have continued along the ways so well laid down by Dr. Kinsolving's predecessors. The number of communicants now enrolled in the parish is 1,850. The financial budget for 1933 provides for a total expenditure of $131,502, of which $35,000 is for the diocese and nation—a sum in excess of the quota allotted to Trinity Church. The chief sources of receipts are $27,000 from trust funds, $24,000 from pew rentals, $11,000 from collections at services, and the money pledged in the annual parish canvass. This year of great financial depression, the canvass call was fully met by 1,164 pledges. One-half of the pews on the church floor, the galleries being free, are now owned by the church and rented. The meetings of proprietors of pews are very few and small and merely to cover the legal requirements of an antiquated method of church control—which will give way, before long, and naturally, to a method more befitting the age and stronger ideals of a Christian fellowship.

The rector could write in his first Parish Year Book that he could "never forget the courage, the devotion, and the

spirited determination to carry on that was everywhere manifest last year throughout the lives of the congregation to the farthest man and woman. He has come to know Trinity Church as more than an organization. It is rather a spirit that motivates a mighty group of people." As head of that group, the rector is playing a preëminent part, by stressing the Christian Church as the great power-house of personal religion, for spiritual growth, for finer living.

IX

THE FUTURE OF TRINITY CHURCH

BY REV. ARTHUR LEE KINSOLVING, D.D.

Thirteenth Rector

The Future of Trinity Church

WE fitly close this chronicle of Trinity Church by lifting our eyes toward the hills of the future. Prophecy is ever precarious. We shall practise it with restraint. Yet human life best ascends when the inspiration of fine traditions is wedded to the attracting power of goals clearly discerned.

A passer-by on Copley Square, glancing toward our church, would observe: "It has the look of granite permanence about it." Set in a place where traffic thunders all day long, and the various sections of the city seem to converge, there is every prospect that this church will be resorted to by humanity, so long as it is human-hearted and sensitive to human need.

Behind the parish stands the historic Christian Church, which has proved itself the most durable institution in the world. Behind the Church is the Lord of the Church, bound by an inner necessity to the destiny of mankind. Trinity Church, with two hundred years of history behind it, and spiritual foundations securely laid, is obviously in the field for ever expanding service. Particularly during the second century of its life, the parish has proved a cumulative enterprise which has steadily gathered scope and momentum. The organizations increase, services increase, the number of regular supporters is steadily growing; and this not so much because the organization is efficient. Trinity Church is primarily a spirit which more and more expresses that to which people and families would be loyal.

Trinity Church is, and will continue to be, a family church. It seeks to give expression to and to shepherd families of people. One generation has succeeded another in loyalty to a parish that exists for the Christian nurture of generations of men from the cradle to the grave.

Because we know that a fundamental unit of the Church

is the family pew, we make provision for the reservation of pews by rental, with the understanding that at the beginning of any service all vacant seats are to be cordially shared with all who attend. We believe that it is inappropriate that anyone should hold, even by limited ownership, portions of the Church of God, and we therefore suggest at this time the deeding of the ownership of pews, either by present action or in wills, to the wardens and vestry of Trinity Church.

That Trinity Church is first a family church is evidenced each Sunday morning at eleven o'clock when families of people come from north, south, east, and west, the children to their services as well as their instruction in Church School and Junior Church, while the parents worship in the great congregation.

And yet Trinity is more; it is a community church. So fortunate as to enjoy the good will and the trust of the community, it has become virtually a civic enterprise. We count it an honor that the town at large feels that Trinity Church is open for such seemly and approved uses as anyone wishes to make of it. Various fraternal orders, universities, schools, and hospitals hold their occasional services at the church.

The clerical staff is constantly on call, not only from hospitals and social service institutions, but from conventions and organizations of every conceivable sort. We want at Trinity to be ever as closely affiliated with the kaleidoscopic life of men as time and strength allow. Phillips Brooks, in his expansive Christian neighborliness, gave the parish a reputation for breadth. Succeeding rectors have held high the ideal of a friendly church. A considerable portion of every congregation is made up of visitors and transients. Trinity has ever shunned that most inappropriate of all epithets, an exclusive church. Though on her registers there have been many of the distinguished New England names, we all approach the Lord God as we are in ourselves, devoid of special privilege. It is wholesome that our children should grow up in a

church that is in service to all sorts and conditions of men.

Phillips Brooks has made this place a rallying ground for the spirit of unity among men. At a united service of the churches of Boston in his memory, held at the Old South Meeting House, Edward Everett Hale said: "For the first time since Boston was Boston every section of the Christian Church is authoritatively represented in one Church with one purpose."*

We count it an honor, too, that so many of the unchurched turn to us for counsel and comfort in their times of anxiety and sorrow, expecting an unembarrassed welcome and uncensorious sympathy. We believe it the Master's way to be hospitable to all who are considered ecclesiastically, or even morally, irregular.

It has been estimated that there are about thirty-two thousand students within a radius of four miles of Trinity Church. There is no more vital contribution which the Church could make than to extend and increase its influence in this great educational community. We hold an annual student welcome service on the first Sunday morning in October, and have a staff of persons steadily engaged in many-sided young people's activities. Looking to the future, we trust that a larger number of the congregation will appreciate our superb opportunity in what has been termed the newest mission field, and volunteer to visit regularly at schools and colleges, and to arrange small study and devotional groups. The future of the Church is undoubtedly dependent upon the vitality with which we present the way of Christ to this ever interesting and attractive younger generation.

During the rectorships of Bishop Mann and Bishop Sherrill there developed at Trinity Church a great many organizations of various sorts. It is our policy at present to consolidate and strengthen those we have. We have never believed in continuing an organization after it is out of date or its vi-

* See proceedings of meeting of January 30, 1893.

tality is spent. At the present moment the twenty-four which are now in existence, including our Community House and Day Nursery in East Boston, are serving most useful purposes. When there is need of others, they will come.

In the Trinity of the future there will probably be something in the nature of a forum for frank and free discussion of all topics of vital concern. Boston has always been to the fore in receptivity to new ideas and in the inauguration of good causes. Though the worship of the Church should continue to have first place, Christian people must learn to meet together to talk over the perplexities of putting the Gospel into practice and to plan with one another and to share their spiritual experiences. For too long a time we have given no adequate opportunity for personal expression on the part of the laity.

The Christian Church has always been forced to operate in a society which refused to acknowledge or recognize its essential claims for the dignity and brotherhood of man. But now, in an age of social criticism, we contemplate with assurance the increased inquiry into the Master's principles for the happy, harmonious ordering of human life.

It has been rarely recognized how much social dynamite is contained in the dignified language of the King James version of the Gospels. We have sung the Magnificat with slight comprehension of what disrupting reversals of human fortune are contemplated in the piety of the gentle Virgin Mary. A deeper scrutiny is already being made into what the Master stood for, what He meant by brotherliness and fairness and compassion. The time has now come for Church people to recognize how frequently we have lost Christ's vision of the essential beauty and dignity of the lives of the great mass of plain people, of whom Lincoln said that God must have loved them, for He made so many of them. It is for the Christian society to lead the way in the struggle for fairness and justice and consideration.

A church the size of Trinity can afford to lead the way in a specialization that will undoubtedly characterize the future. We cannot expect every ordained clergyman to show aptitude for the pulpit. We must create more opportunity for thought, study, prayer, and the storing up of vital energy necessary for that. To the pulpit at Trinity Church we shall be zealous to call the ablest interpreters of Christian thought and the spiritual life that we can secure from every source. Our Lenten noonday preaching has demonstrated the opportunity for the introduction of special services of various sorts, for the creation of new occasions by which the Christian way of life may be further expounded in the midst of this great city.

Still the larger part of the work of the clergy at Trinity Church will continue to be private and spiritual. It is our constant aim, though often we fall a little short of it, to pay at least one pastoral visit a year to every member of this congregation. Increasingly we trust that people will come to the clergy for advice and counsel. Just as the Massachusetts General Hospital is a great foundation erected for the restoration and maintenance of bodily health, which can command the services of specialists of every sort, so Trinity Church on Copley Square is capable of great expansion as a house of human welfare, a spiritual clinic commanding the services of the most competent to heal all the multifarious ills the souls and characters of men are heir to.

The need is also imperative for more adequate physical facilities—a chapel, room for our expanding Church School, a larger parish house. The average suburban church, with one-fifth our membership, has many times the cubic feet of our cramped facilities in St. Andrew's Hall.

Trinity Church stands in need of a much more substantial endowment fund. Under Dr. Mann a vigorous beginning was made of the Phillips Brooks Memorial Endowment Fund for Trinity Church. To recall the reference to Mr. Brooks in the special appeal of 1919, "Into the massive structure he built him-

self; his name and the name of Trinity Church are inseparably intertwined for all succeeding years. And it is to preserve this work of architectural genius, this memorial to the greatest preacher of his generation, not only to care for the material structure, but to make it possible that the worship of God, the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, the streams of charitable and missionary giving and the unselfish service to the community may go on through the coming years," that appeal is made for donations and bequests. "The day will certainly come for Trinity, as it has for many another city parish when, if it is to remain in its place and do its work in ministering to the religious needs of the neighborhood, it must depend largely upon its endowment for its support." Surely to-day we may say in truth that the opportunities of our reach extend far beyond our grasp, and any extension of the endowment fund will immediately appear in an enlargement of our program and the extension of our Christian influence.

As long as the diocese is without a large cathedral Trinity Church will remain the place of meeting for large diocesan services, and must accomplish some of the supplemental offices of a cathedral. Placed at the center of the capital city of New England, our influence is considerable throughout the province and throughout the Church at large. With modern facilities for transportation, so long as the great heart of Trinity Church beats with vitality, so long as it is a dynamo of spiritual power, people will come from far. By means of the radio, of which we can make more extended use, we are already reaching a wider public than ever before in history. We are now beginning a periodical, as an added means of contact with parishioners and with thousands of persons living outside of Boston who at some time in their lives have been connected with the parish and who are interested in it.

Upon us lie the responsibilities of large leadership. For some time we have led the diocese in missionary giving. It is our high purpose to set the standard of interest in and devotion to

the cause of the Kingdom throughout the world. We want it true that the vital impulse of Trinity Church will be felt spiritually and materially through many arteries among rural districts and in mission stations.

Trinity Church, with its zeal for breadth, is committed to no party in the Church, and, please God, will ever be above partisanship. The Master was not recruiting to a party, but a kingdom. Our hospitable doors are open to persons of every conceivable sort of religious education. We are zealous that a rounded and satisfying representation of the truth be given. In our public services we aim to uphold the full standards of the Anglican communion for reverence, beauty, dignity, and order, and to render a service in which all may feel at home. Trinity Church is too large an institution, in too cosmopolitan a community, to turn its back on the heightening conceptions of the worship of God in our times. There are open to us opportunities for the beautifying of the fabric and the dignifying and enriching of a worship that will be kept simple.

We should be devoutly grateful to Almighty God that Trinity Church has prospered, and that it is much used by so many people. There is an awe, a lift, a unique encouragement from worship with this great company. The obvious danger is that within so great a multitude many are lost in the crowd. Membership in Christ's fellowship commits one to a very definite way of life, a daily discipline, an exacting ethical standard, an entire devotion. Attendance at services is a bare beginning, a sort of minimum requirement for those who propose to take religion seriously. Unless our full membership is in regular attendance, unless we assemble ourselves as a Christian army, to pray, to plan, to develop, and to accomplish, we are not under way. Regular church attendance and recourse to the Holy Communion is expected of every disciple of the Lord in our Church. Our Lord knows us as individuals. He is present and is disappointed if any of us fails to come. He knows we need regular spiritual food to grow on. Therefore with

breadth let us be sure to combine definiteness as a watchword. Definiteness in Churchly duties, prayer, public worship, self-examination, Holy Communion, stewardship in material things; for such has been found to be good discipline toward the higher sequel to that definiteness—unqualified allegiance to Jesus as Master and Lord. Let us be faithful at prayer, that we may hope to measure nearer His stature and be able to meet others in His spirit. Though we welcome inquirers at Trinity Church, our proper function is to win and to train thoroughgoing modern disciples of Jesus, who are confirmed and publicly avowed, and who share in His life work of human redemption. We cannot be too definite about this.

The Episcopal Church in Boston has long been characterized by a wholesome simplicity. It is to-day singularly free from display and ecclesiastical pomp and ceremony. We have admired and we have expected genuineness in the following of Jesus, Who was always so simple, so unostentatious, so approachable. One who has been the greatest living contributor to this high tradition in Boston, the Rt. Rev. Dr. William Lawrence, now in his eighty-third year, at the last Diocesan Convention made a plea that we should have as our first emphasis the emulation of the humble Jesus. It is just in so far as we are true to that plea from our most venerable living leader that Trinity Church will grow in power to commend the way of Christ to the citizens of Boston in the future. At this two-hundredth anniversary may every one of us, in some quiet moment, take solemn thought in profound gratitude for this wonderful church which has been committed to us as a trust by the faithfulness of those who have gone before. And let us each rededicate ourselves to our Lord Jesus Christ and His service. Let us offer ourselves, our souls and bodies a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice to Him Who is the Church's one foundation, remembering that all we have here is raised in tribute to the humble Jesus Who gave His life that men might find life in the family of God.

X

MEMORIALS OF PHILLIPS BROOKS

Memorials of Phillips Brooks

THE real memorial of Phillips Brooks is the changed lives of countless human beings. But Trinity Church has several reminders of him, besides the noble church building. On the lectern, holding the Bible, is the wooden desk used by Mr. Brooks to hold his sermons, as he preached in Philadelphia and in the second Trinity Church on Summer Street, from which it was saved from the great Boston fire. In the baptistry is a marble bust of Mr. Brooks, by Daniel C. French, given by parishioners. Seventeen years after Mr. Brooks's death, a bronze statue of him, with the figure of the Christ touching and inspiring him, designed by Augustus St. Gaudens, was erected under a canopy at the north side of the church. It was the gift to Trinity Church from many persons, through a large representative committee of Boston's citizens.* Of the money raised for the memorial, an unexpended balance of over $62,000 was given to the church. Under authority of the Supreme Judicial Court, some of this has been used for the Bela Pratt statue of Phillips Brooks, which stands near his ancestral home at North Andover; for a pulpit bearing his name in the new Memorial Church at Harvard College; for a bust of him in the Hall of Fame at the University of New York; for a stone figure of him on the west porch façade of Trinity Church; and for other purposes connected with his memory, or for charitable uses which are not connected with an ecclesiastical body.

But most important of memorials of Mr. Brooks is the Phillips Brooks Memorial Endowment Fund begun under Dr. Mann, fostered by Dr. Sherrill, and for which an earnest appeal is made by Dr. Kinsolving in his chapter on the future of Trinity Church.† Begun in 1919, the Fund soon grew to over $200,000; it is now about $300,000, book or purchase values.

* See page 116. † See page 171.

XI
THE CHURCH PLATE

The Church Plate

THE first gift of silver plate recorded is a "large Handsome Silver Basson," to be used for christenings, from Captain John Cutler of Boston, in 1739. It weighed nearly thirty-four ounces. The wardens had put upon it the name and coat of arms of the donor. It was stolen from the second church building on Summer Street in 1851.

In 1742, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts presented, in the name of His Majesty George II, five pieces—two flagons, a chalice, a paten, and a plate for offerings, of white silver—weighing together over 181 ounces. These pieces bear the English coat of arms. This gift was one of the King's "usual Bounty" to royal governors on receiving their commissions.

In 1790, Mrs. Hannah Rowe gave twenty-six ounces of silver for a second chalice, as the increasing number of communicants required two. At the same time the chalice from Governor Shirley was made over so that the two chalices would be alike in size and design. Mrs. Rowe was a daughter of William Speakman and the wife of John Rowe, who had been a vestryman or warden for over twenty-five years. In *The Old Silver of American Churches*, by Edward A. Jones, published in 1913 under auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames, is a picture (Plate No. xxxii) of the King George pieces and the Rowe chalice.

In 1812, two patens, one of them matching the 1742 paten, were procured by the rector, the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner. Three years later, two patens with covers were given by Mrs. Hannah Smith.

In 1829, the proprietors of the church presented to the architect of the second structure, Mr. George W. Brimmer, in grateful recognition of his plans and services given, a large silver ewer. On it is a bas-relief of the second structure. Mr. Brimmer accepted it, but asked that it be used by the church. The following year, another ewer, like the Brimmer one but with the

arms of the Winthrop family, was given by the Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, who was at that time a vestryman.

In 1876, the Rev. Thomas Amory, rector of St. Teath Parish, England, presented a paten.

In 1878, two chalices were given by twelve members of the vestry.

In 1905, a gold chalice, with jewels from a "bracelet of many stones," came from the executors of Mrs. Sarah Wyman Whitman, as instructed by her; and a gold paten was given by the Women's Bible Class in loving memory of Mrs. Whitman.

In 1906, a plate was given by request of Mary J. Eastburn, deceased, the widow of the eighth rector, Bishop Eastburn.

In 1932, a wafer box and a small chalice for intinction were given by members of the church staff and by the Altar Guild, in memory of Elizabeth L. Mitchell, long the parish visitor.

The silver includes also three small chalices, two wafer boxes, two patens; and three portable Communion sets, one of which was used in the World War by Chaplain Sherrill, later the twelfth rector, and another marked "E. M. P. in loving memory of P. B."—Phillips Brooks.

XII

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH

BY H. H. RICHARDSON

Architect

Reprinted from Consecration Services of Trinity Church, Boston
Printed by order of the Vestry, 1877

TRINITY CHURCH, COPLEY SQUARE

Opened for worship in 1877

Description of the Church

AT the time of the burning of the old Trinity Church, on Summer Street, the project for a new building was well advanced. Land had been bought, competitive designs had been invited and received, and a selection made; and a considerable amount of work had been done on the drawings for the new structure.

In a modern Church, if the logical sequence of one part from another is not as close as in a mediaeval Cathedral, still it is true that every detail of the construction, from the front steps to the finish on the roof, must be thought over, viewed in the light of all probable contingencies, and fixed with tolerable distinctness, before the excavations can be safely begun.

Trinity Church was no exception to this rule: the character of the design, and the nature of the ground, on which the building was to stand, brought problems for the solution of which no familiar precedent existed, and which were to be worked out by accurate and anxious theoretical investigation.

On testing the ground at the site a compact stratum was found, overlaid by a quantity of alluvium, upon which a mass of gravel, about thirty feet deep, had been filled in. Upon such a foundation was to be built a structure, the main feature of which consisted in a tower weighing nearly nineteen million pounds, and supported on four piers. The first pile was driven April 21, 1873. Every pile was watched, numbered, its place marked on a plan at a large scale, and a record made of the weight of the hammer with which it was driven, the distance that the pile sank at the last three blows, and the height from which the hammer fell. With these indications, a map of the bearing stratum was made, with contour lines, showing the surface of the clay bed.

Meanwhile, the preparation of the plans for the superstructure was going on, and the last of the four thousand five hundred piles which support the building had not been driven

before the mason-work was begun. On the 10th of October, 1873, the contract was made with Messrs. Norcross Brothers, of Worcester, Mass., for the masonry and carpenter-work of the structure; the Building Committee, who had a large quantity of stone on the ground brought from the ruins of the Summer Street Church, undertaking to furnish all the foundation stone, except that for the great piers of the tower, which it was necessary to construct of special stones. Under the centre of the Church, a space ninety feet square had been reserved for the tower foundation, and this had been driven uniformly full of piles, as near together as practicable, over two thousand being contained within the area. This area, while the foundation walls for the other parts of the Church were building, was subjected to various processes, in preparation for its future duty.

The piles within these limits were cut off at "grade five," six inches lower than the piles under the other portions of the building, as an excess of precaution against any failure of water for keeping the wood saturated. The ground was then excavated around the heads of the piles to a depth of two feet, and replaced with concrete. The concrete was mixed on the ground, put into barrows, and wheeled on plank ways laid on the heads of the piles to its destination, and thrown into the excavation. Four successive layers, each six inches thick, were put in, and each thoroughly compacted with wooden rammers. The upper surface of the concrete was kept one inch below the heads of the piles, on the theory that the piles being the true support of the structure, it was important that every stone should rest firmly upon them, without coming in contact with the concrete, which might some time sink, by the settlement of the gravel filling, and cause dislocation of any masonry which might rest partly upon it and partly on the unyielding piles. The concrete, however, had an important use in preventing the lateral motion of the piles, and to some extent connecting them together.

Before the close of this season, the first course of one of

the four pyramids which form the foundation of the tower piers, had been laid on the piles, and as an experiment the outside joints were cemented up, and the whole then grouted with cement and sand till the joints and the space between the stone and concrete were flushed full. The pumping, which had been constantly kept up to free the excavation from the water which came in through the gravelly bottom, then ceased, and the water was allowed to enter the cavity, which it soon filled to the depth of about four feet, and the operations on the ground were suspended until the following spring. During the winter, however, extensive preparations were made for the following season. Choice had been made of the Dedham granite for the ashlar, and of Longmeadow freestone for the trimmings and cut stone work, and the contractors hired land and opened quarries of their own, both at Dedham and Longmeadow. The Dedham granite is a fine grained stone, of a beautiful color, rather resembling a sandstone in effect, and harmonizing very well with the brown freestone, but, like most red granite, being only found at the surface of the quarry, there was difficulty in procuring stones large enough for the water-table and some other portions, as the same atmospheric or other influences which had changed the upper part of the granite ledge from its natural gray to salmon color, had caused also frequent seams, imperceptible at first, but which showed themselves by the falling to pieces of the larger stones while being dressed.

To meet this difficulty, search was made and a red granite found at Westerly, R. I., which, although also a surface stone, and less delicate in color than the Dedham, was of admirable quality, pieces twenty feet long or over being easily procured. The contractors, with praiseworthy enterprise, secured land here, and opened a third quarry, from which was taken all the ashlar below and including the water-table, as well as a portion of the largest foundation stones. At all these quarries work was prosecuted through the winter, and a large quantity of material

accumulated, besides many hundred tons of dimension granite of ordinary kinds, for the foundation of the great piers, for which contracts had been previously made, and which was procured from various localities, partly from Rockport, Mass., part from Quincy, and some of the best stone from the coast of Maine. These were all large stones, weighing from one to four tons each, and as the work for which they were destined was the most important as well as the most trying, in the building, they were accepted only under severe restrictions, no stone being received of less height than twenty or more than twenty-four inches, or less than four feet long, and a certain proportion were required to be eight feet long, or even more.

On resuming operations in the spring of 1874, it was found that the tide water, coming in through the gravel, had affected the setting of the cement. The concrete was in a favorable condition, but the grouting of the masonry which had been started for the pier was still very soft, although made with a cement which, under ordinary circumstances, sets rapidly. In view of this unexplained difficulty, as well as the need of being able to proceed rapidly with the piers, without being obliged to wait for the setting of any doubtful cement, it was thought best to reduce the matter to certainty by using Portland cement throughout the piers. A variety of English and French Portland cements was tried, but the result seemed equally good with all, some difference in the rapidity of setting being the principal variation. The stones already set were taken up and relaid, and with the substitution of the different cement, treated as before; the outer joints being packed close, and the inside grouted until completely full.

At first the Portland cement was handled like Rosendale in similar circumstances, the cement being mixed rather dry, and after being put into the joints with trowels, compressed as much as possible with rammers; but further experience, and careful trials, showed equally good results by first filling the larger joints with a trowel and the dryer mortar, and then

mixing some rather rich cement, sufficiently liquid to pour into the smaller joints from a bucket, stirring it well with the thicker portion, until the whole was of a medium consistency, and had penetrated every interstice of the stone-work. Each course was levelled up to a uniform surface with cement, and chips where necessary, before the next course was begun, and the upper bed of the third course from the top, and all the vertical and horizontal joints of the two upper courses were taken out of wind and pointed, so as to form a perfectly close joint.

Toward the close of 1874, the four pyramids of solid granite, each thirty-five feet square at the base and seven feet square at the top, and seventeen feet high, were completed; the main walls of the Church being then well advanced, and the Chapel, which had been urged forward with great rapidity, nearly finished. In the construction of other foundations than those of the tower, the stones which had been brought from the ruins of the old Church after the fire, were utilized as far as possible; but the action of the heat upon them had produced some curious results, very unfavorable to their use in a new building. The stones which were simply cracked through were easily managed, but many of the stones, which when delivered on the grounds were as square and neatly jointed as any one could wish, on being placed in the wall let fall large chips from the corners, concave on the side toward the interior of the stone. These would be followed by successive shells, separating like the coats of an onion, and apparently of indefinite number.

This scaling took place first at the corners, and as the concentric layers fell away, the stone was reduced to a round ball, completely useless for building purposes. The best and largest of the old stones, those from the tower, had been most exposed to the fire and were most subject to this defect. Even after a stone had been safely placed in the wall, and was apparently perfect, the imposition of the next course would some-

times cause shells to separate from the upper corners of the stones already laid, so that the stones above them rested on the summit of a convex surface, which it was impossible to wedge up, and both courses had to be removed. The only certain mode of testing the stones was by striking them with a hammer, when the clear ring of a sound stone could by a little experience be distinguished from the dull note of blocks which contained latent cracks. The defective stones were thus separated from the sound, and rejected.

In November, 1874, the Chapel building was finished, the transept, chancel and aisle walls, as well as the western front, being then high above ground. During the winter, the stone for the remainder of the building was cut, the larger portion of the work being upon the granite for the upper part of the piers which carry the tower. These were built of blocks of Westerly granite, each five feet by two and one-half, and twenty inches high, with hammered vertical and horizontal joints. These were laid in cement, in pairs, forming a pillar five feet square in section, the joints of alternate courses crossing. For laying these piers and the adjoining walls, as well as the arches between the piers, a massive scaffold was built, standing independently upon the four pyramids of the tower foundation. Four derricks stood upon this structure, and not only the pier stones, weighing two tons each, were easily handled, but the same stage served afterward to carry the centres for the great arches, and the whole superstructure of scaffolding, to the very top of the tower, no outside staging being used. This "great stage," as it was called, remained in place for more than two years.

In the construction of the great arches, and for tying the piers at their summit to the walls of the nave and transept, iron was used, but sparingly, and as a matter of precaution, rather than necessity, the weights and points of application of the adjoining walls having been calculated to furnish sufficient resistance to the thrust of the arches, without the aid of ties.

In general, throughout the building, the use of iron was avoided as far as might be, and with the exception of the staircase turret, which is supported by a double set of iron beams over the vestibule below, no masonry in the Church is dependent on metal for support. In the Chapel, where the exigencies of convenient disposition demanded some wide spans, iron beams are used, and one or two of the stone lintels are reinforced by concealed girders.

Some changes in the design were made as the work went on, in compliance with real or fancied necessities of convenience or construction, and it is not out of place to say, that the modifications of outline required by the change in proportion of walls and tower thus made, can hardly yet be considered as fully carried out, so that the actual building at present lacks, perhaps, the unity of the original design, without attaining a new unity of its own. Especially is this the case with regard to the western towers: a lowering of the Church walls, made in hope of affording an additional guarantee of good acoustic quality in the building, which was felt to be a paramount consideration, changed the proportion of walls and tower in a manner which should have been counteracted by increasing the height of the western front, including the towers which form a part of it, and the amended drawings comprehended this alteration as an aesthetic necessity, but the increase of height not being a constructional necessity, and the additional cost being of some importance, the full completion of the design was, to the regret of all parties, abandoned till some future time.

In modifying the internal form to meet the new requirements, the present shape of ceiling was adopted in place of that originally intended. In the modified form the tie-beams cross the Church at the level of the wall plate, coming at the cusps of the trefoil.

Although it was often suggested during the progress of

the work, that the great piers, at least, should show the stone face apparent in the Church, this has, nevertheless, from the first conception of the design seemed in many ways undesirable, and propositions looking to that end have been, after careful consideration, always finally rejected. A rich effect of color in the interior was an essential element of the design, and this could not be obtained in any practicable material without painting. Brickwork, which might have been strong enough in color, would not have endured the strain upon it, and the use of granite was a necessity of construction. The cold, harsh effect of this stone in the midst of the color decoration, could not be tolerated, and as between painting directly on the stone, and plastering it to secure a smooth surface, it seemed decidedly preferable that there should be no difference in texture between the piers and the other walls, but that all should be plastered alike. The commonplace criticism that plaster "conceals construction," can hardly be considered to apply here, for the piers and arches being simply portions of the wall, it would be difficult to show any reason for plastering the other walls which would not apply equally to the piers; and that the inner surface of the walls must in all cases be exposed, is a *dictum* from which the most conscientious would shrink.

In July, 1876, the last stone was laid in the tower. The body of the Church had already been roofed in, furred and plastered, and in the tower itself a bell deck had been built, with a hatchway for hoisting. It remained only to roof the tower, and give up the building to the joiners and the decorators. The design of the Church had always contemplated tile roofing, at least for the towers, but it was with some difficulty that an entirely suitable tile was found. English tiles were imported as samples, but were found too absorbent to be depended on in our trying climate. A glazed or semi-glazed surface seemed requisite, and this was at length found in an American tile, made in Akron, Ohio, and affording some advantages in closeness of

cover, as well as in a vitrified texture, incapable of absorbing moisture. The color was also satisfactory in effect.

For the crockets, which relieved the dryness of the outline, it was found necessary to send to a distance also. Although not in themselves very large, they were beyond the size of articles usually undertaken by the Eastern potters, except the workers in fire-clay, which was unsuitable by its color; and arrangements were made with the Chicago Terra Cotta Company for their manufacture. Together with the crockets were ordered hip rolls for the octagonal roof of the main tower, and the square roofs of the western towers. This commission was successfully executed, and the crockets proved satisfactory in color and effect. While this work was going on outside, the interior finishing was pursued without interruption. The windows were glazed with common glass, bordered by patterns of colored glass, for temporary use only, it being hoped that most, if not all the windows, would ultimately be filled with memorial stained glass.

The Chapel room in the second story of the Chapel building, is 47 feet by 63 feet 8 inches, with a vestibule added at the north-east corner, 12 feet by 23, these two rooms occupying the whole superficial area of the building.

As soon as the building was enclosed, the negotiations for the decoration, which had been pending for some time, were concluded, and a definite contract was entered into with Mr. John La Farge, by which he not only undertook to design and supervise the work, but made himself responsible for the whole expenditure, purchasing the colors, employing all the subordinates, from the hardly less distinguished gentlemen who assisted him in his own special work, down to the little boy of all work, who ran the errands and stirred the barrels of color. This responsibility, formidable as it must seem to a professional man wholly unused to business affairs, was undertaken by Mr. La Farge, it is fair to say, much less from any hope of pecuniary profit, which he had little reason to expect,

than from a true artistic enthusiasm for a work so novel, and affording such an opportunity for the highest exercise of a painter's talents; and the task, so undertaken, was pursued with great self devotion to a most successful completion.

After the preliminary arrangements were made, Mr. La Farge, preferring the completeness and thoroughness of the work to his own pecuniary interest, decided to paint all the better part of the decoration, including of course the figures, with an encaustic medium, consisting of wax, melted with turpentine, alcohol, and Venice turpentine, in certain proportions, instead of mixing the colors with the ordinary distemper medium of water and size.

The encaustic process is much more costly, but once done, the colors protected by the wax are indestructible. Even water flowing over them, which would utterly obliterate a distemper painting, scarcely affects the encaustic colors.

With the greatest exertion on the part of the artist, it was necessary to ask for an extension of the time allowed by the contract for finishing the decoration, and great as was the impatience of the parish to take possession of their Church, after having been for four years in a manner homeless, the desired extension was kindly granted, and at the same time a further appropriation of money was made, particularly for the decoration of the roof, and for gilding certain portions of the work, changes which the artist thought desirable, but which were not included in the original contract. These modifications were carried out, and at last the work, which had excited great interest among the public, was handed over to the Committee.

As soon as the decoration was finished, the scaffoldings were removed; and the pews and chancel furniture, which were all made and ready to set up, were rapidly put in place. Meanwhile the organ was being fixed in position and tuned.

About the middle of the forenoon of February 1, 1877, the first timbers of the great stage, which had been in place

nearly two and a half years, were knocked away, and on the morning of Saturday, February 3, the whole had been removed. By the evening of February 8, everything was in readiness for the Consecration, which took place the following day.

In plan, the Church as it stands is a Latin cross, with a semicircular apse added to the eastern arm. The arms of the cross are short, in proportion to their width. In general, taking the square at the intersection of nave and transepts as a modulus, the total length of the auditorium is three squares, of which the chancel, including the apse, forms one, the square at the intersection another, and the nave a third, the transepts being each half a square. Over the square at the intersection stands the tower. The aisles would be very narrow for a Gothic Church, but are in character for the Romanesque, and are much more serviceable when thus reduced to passage-ways, than when their width compels their being occupied by pews. The clear-story is carried by an arcade of two arches only. Above the aisles a gallery is carried across the arches, which, from its position, was distinguished by the name of the "triforium" gallery, and serves as a passage to connect the three main galleries, one across either transept, and one across the west-end of the nave, over the vestibule. Both the west gallery and the two triforium galleries connect with the staircases which occupy the western towers, and the transept galleries are also reached by special staircases, ascending, one from a north-eastern vestibule, which serves as entrance both from Huntington Avenue directly and from the cloister communicating with the Chapel, and the other from a south-eastern vestibule entered from St. James Avenue. The robing room opens from the north-east vestibule, as well as from the chancel. The main western vestibule is 52 feet long, the width of the nave, without counting the lower story of the western towers, which virtually form a part of it, and increase its length to upwards

of 86 feet. In the middle of the west front is the main portal, and a secondary door opens into each of the towers, giving thus three entrances in the west front, and five double doors open from the western vestibule into the Church. The upper regions of the Church are reached by a winding stair in the north-eastern turret of the great tower, starting from the room over the north-east vestibule. This lands at the bell deck over the flat ceiling which closes the tower in the Church. The whole interior of the Church and Chapel is finished in black walnut, and all the vestibules in ash and oak.

The style of the Church may be characterized as a free rendering of the French Romanesque, inclining particularly to the school that flourished in the eleventh century in Central France,—the ancient Aquitaine,—which, secure, politically, on the one hand from the Norman pirates, and on the other from the Moorish invasions, as well as architecturally emancipated from the influence of the classical traditions and examples which still ruled the southern provinces, developed in various forms a system of architecture of its own, differing from the classical manner in that, while it studied elegance, it was also constructional, and from the succeeding Gothic, in that, although constructional, it could sacrifice something of mechanical dexterity for the sake of grandeur and repose.

Among the branches of the Romanesque of Central France, nowhere were the peculiar characteristics of the style so strongly marked as in the peaceful, enlightened and isolated cities of Auvergne. The central tower, a reminiscence, perhaps, of the domes of Venice and Constantinople, was here fully developed, so that in many cases the tower became, as it were, the Church, and the composition took the outline of a pyramid, the apse, transepts, nave and chapels forming only the base to the obelisk of the tower.

In studying the problem presented by a building fronting on three streets, it appeared desirable that the tower should be central, thus belonging equally to each front, rather than put-

ting it on any corner, where, from at least one side, it would be nearly out of sight; and in carrying out this motive, it was plain that with the ordinary proportion of Church and tower, either the tower must be comparatively small, which would bring its supporting piers inconveniently into the midst of the congregation, or the tower being large, the rest of the Church must be magnified to inordinate proportions. For this dilemma the Auvergnat solution seemed perfectly adapted. Instead of the tower being an inconvenient and unnecessary addition to the Church, it was itself made the main feature. The struggle for precedence, which often takes place between a Church and its spire, was disposed of, by at once and completely subordinating nave, transepts, and apse, and grouping them about the tower as the central mass.

The two great figures on the western façade, the details of sculpture upon the transept ends, and the tympana of the doors and windows, still remain unfinished, and must be left for the future. But the distinguishing characteristics of a style are independent of details; especially is this the case in the Romanesque, which in its treatment of masses, affords an inexhaustible source of study quite independent of its merits as a school of sculpture.

The Dimensions of the Church are as follows:

	Feet	*Inches*
Extreme width across transepts to outside of walls	120	10
Width of west front	92	10
Width of nave from centre to centre of piers of arcade	53	10
Width of aisles, from the inside of walls to centre of piers of arcade	9	4
Extreme length of Church, outside to outside of walls	159	11
Depth of chancel, from front of chancel steps to the extremity of the apse, inside the walls	57	5

TRINITY CHURCH

	Feet	*Inches*
Width of chancel, inside the walls	52	2
Width of transepts	51	10
Interior dimensions of tower, 46 feet square; clear span of great arches	46	6
Height of great piers from Church floor to spring of arches	36	3
Height from floor to upper point of nave ceiling	63	3
Height from floor to ceiling of tower	103	2
Height of exterior walls from ground line to cornice	48	
Height from ground line to cornice of tower	121	5
Height from ground line to the highest stone in the building	149	7
Height from ground line to topmost point of finial	211	3

These were the dimensions of the church in 1877, before the Galilee, western, Porch was added, twenty years later.

XIII

Rectors, Assistant Ministers
Trustees
Wardens and Vestrymen, Clerks and Treasurers
of Trinity Church
1733–1933

A List of Ministers and Officers

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Rectors of Trinity Church

Addington Davenport	1740–1746
William Hooper	1747–1767
William Walter	1768–1776
Samuel Parker	1779–1804
John Sylvester John Gardiner	1805–1830
George Washington Doane	1831–1832
Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright	1833–1838
Manton Eastburn	1842–1868
Phillips Brooks	1869–1891
Elijah Winchester Donald	1892–1904
Alexander Mann	1905–1922
Henry Knox Sherrill	1923–1930
Arthur Lee Kinsolving	1930–

*Assistant Ministers of Trinity Church**

William Walter	1763–1768
Samuel Parker	1773–1779
Abraham L. Clarke	1786–1787
John S. J. Gardiner	1791–1804
George W. Doane	1828–1831
John H. Hopkins	1831–1832
John L. Watson	1836–1846
Thomas M. Clark	1847–1851
John C. Smith	1852–1859
Alexander G. Mercer	1860–1863

* The names listed are of assistants who ministered in the church for over one year. Most of them were maintained, wholly or partly, by the Greene Foundation. Besides those named, there have been ministries for short times, such as by Thomas W. Coit and Thomas H. Vail one hundred years ago, by George L. Locke in 1867 and Herbert L. Gamble in 1896; or occasional services, such as by Edmund F. Slafter early in this century.

Henry C. Potter	1866–1868
Charles C. Tiffany	1870–1874
Bryan B. Killikelly	1874–1881
Charles H. Babcock	1875–1877
Leverett Bradley	1878–1879
Frederick B. Allen	1879–1888
Reuben Kidner	1882–1919
W. Dewees Roberts	1888–1893
Roland Cotton Smith	1888–1892
William H. Dewart	1893–1902
Edward Borncamp	1899–1903
Joseph N. Blanchard	1903–1905
Edward S. Travers	1904–1905
Appleton Grannis	1906–1908
Ernest C. Tuthill	1909–1910
Edwin J. Van Etten	1911–1914
Henry K. Sherrill	1914–1917
Gabriel Farrell	1917–1918
C. Russell Moodey	1919–1922
John S. Moses	1919–1922
John Ridout	1922–1925
George C. Gibbs	1923–1926
Arthur O. Phinney	1923–1928
Gardiner M. Day	1926–1929
William E. Gardner	1928–
Otis R. Rice	1929–
Robert L. Bull, Jr.	1931–

Trustees and Building Committee

1733–1739

Peter Luce — William Price
Thomas Child — Thomas Greene
Leonard Vassall, *Treasurer*

Wardens and Vestrymen, Clerks and Treasurers
1737–1933*

V. = *Vestryman* J. W. = *Junior Warden*
S. W. = *Senior Warden* C. = *Clerk*
T. = *Treasurer*

Crosby, John
C. 1737–1759

Apthorpe, Charles
V. 1739

Arbuthnott, John
V. 1739–1748

Aston, Thomas
V. 1739–1764

Coffin, William
V. 1739–1766, 1771–1774†
J. W. 1767–1768
S. W. 1769–1770

Dowse, Joseph
J. W. 1739–1740
S. W. 1741–1764
V. 1765–1767

Dumeresque, Philip
V. 1739

Faneuil, Benjamin
V. 1739–1760, 1771–1774†

Greene, Rufus
V. 1739–1750, 1767–1777†
J. W. 1751–1764
S. W. 1765–1766

Griffin, James
V. 1739

Hamock, John
V. 1739

Kenwood, Peter
V. 1739–1740, 1745–1746
J. W. 1741–1744

Laughton, Henry
V. 1739–1749, 1770–1774†

Lutwych, Lawrence
V. 1739–1740

Merrett, John
V. 1739, 1745–1747

Speakman, William
S. W. 1739–1740
V. 1741–1744

Child, Thomas
V. 1740–1743

Greene, Thomas
V. 1740–1763

Luce, Peter
V. 1740–1743

* The accuracy of a few entries may be questioned because of variations in spelling; carelessness in the use of the word "junior"; and of dates of service very near a new year; for instance, the Greenes. The purpose of this list is to show approximately the service given the church by many citizens of Boston.

In 1737, Peter Luce and Thomas Greene, trustees, were asked by the trustees to "act as Wardens untill it shall be thought Proper by us to order Otherwise." There is no record of change until the proprietors meeting of April, 1739, when two "church wardens, first that was chosen," were elected, with thirteen vestrymen.

† Records for 1775 are missing.

Simpson, Jonathan
V. 1740–1774†

Thomlinson, Robert
V. 1740

Bouteneau, James
V. 1741–1774*

Perkins, Thomas
V. 1744–1747

Price, William
V. 1744, 1751
J. W. 1745–1750

Davis, Anthony
V. 1747–1754

Greene, Benjamin
V. 1748–1773,* 1776, 1789–1806
J. W. 1777–1788

Greenleaf, Stephen
V. 1749–1764, 1769–1789*
J. W. 1765–1766
S. W. 1767–1768

Gooch, John
V. 1750–1769

Pollard, Benjamin
V. 1751–1756

Erving, John
V. 1760–1770
J. W. 1771–1773
S. W. 1774*

Miller, Joseph D.
C. 1760–1762

Rowe, John
V. 1760–1768, 1774,* 1777–1786
J. W. 1769–1770
S. W. 1771–1773, 1776

Crosby, Daniel
C. 1763–1804

Greene, Thomas†
V. 1764–1766

Hughes, Samuel
V. 1765–1768

Perkins, James
V. 1765–1799*

Phillips, Gillam
V. 1765–1770

Greene, John
V. 1767–1770

Jackson, Johnson
V. 1768–1774*

Cutler, John
V. 1769–1783,* 1785–1802

Hubbard, Daniel
V. 1771–1773, 1789–1796
J. W. 1774–1776*
S. W. 1777–1788

Coffin, William, Jr.
V. 1772–1773

Bethune, George
V. 1774,* 1777–1781

Davis, Edward
V. 1776–1785

Greene, Joseph
V. 1776–1801

Greene, Richard
V. 1776–1778, 1781, 1805–1817

Timmins, John
V. 1776

Amory, Thomas
V. 1777–1784

Greene, Nathaniel
V. 1777–1784, 1787–1790

* Records for 1775 are missing.

† Son of Thomas Greene noted above.

Green, Richard
V. 1779–1780, 1782–1788
S. W. 1789–1804

Hatch, Jabez
V. 1779–1801

Lush, George
V. 1784–1789

Greene, David
V. 1785–1812

Smith, Samuel
V. 1785–1814

Jenkins, Robert
V. 1786–1797

Tudor, William
V. 1786–1819, 1822–1823

Smith, Henry
J. W. 1789–1801

Haskins, John
V. 1790–1814

Johnson, Eleazer
V. 1790

Head, Joseph
V. 1791–1804, 1818–1831, 1833–1834
S. W. 1805–1810, 1817
J. W. 1811–1816

Deblois, George
V. 1797–1800, 1805–1818
J. W. 1801–1804

Dunn, Samuel
V. 1797–1815

Higginson, Stephen
V. 1797–1824

Perkins, Thomas
V. 1800–1832

Amory, John
V. 1802–1820

Lloyd, James
V. 1802–1809, 1813–1827

Codman, Stephen
V. 1803–1814

Cooper, James
C. 1805–1812*

Foster, Joseph
J. W. 1805–1810, 1817
S. W. 1811–1816
V. 1818–1823, 1825–1826

Higginson, George
V. 1805–1807, 1810–1811

Sears, David
V. 1807–1816

Greene, Gardiner
V. 1810–1832

Winthrop, Thomas L.
V. 1815–1833

Amory, Jonathan
V. 1816–1828

Apthorp, John T.
V. 1817–1832, 1838, 1844–1848
S. W. 1833

Sewall, Joseph
V. 1817–1818

* During nearly the first century of Trinity Church history, the clerk, who was elected by the proprietors, agreeably to the rector, was a lay leader of the congregation in responses. Between 1812 and 1826, the choice of clerk was left to the rector and wardens and the records do not name the clerks except in 1818. The office of the old-time clerk was combined with that of chorister, and then disappeared. The clerk then became a recording and corresponding officer. The wardens had acted as treasurers and sometimes attested the accuracy of records of meetings. At the close of the first century, a collector was appointed to get in dues, and then a treasurer took charge of church finances.

Brinley, George
S. W. 1818–1825, 1829–1832, 1836–1838
V. 1826–1827, 1834–1835, 1839–1842
J. W. 1828

Head, Joseph, Jr.
J. W. 1818–1825
V. 1825–1839

Summer, Charles P.
C. 1818

Hubbard, John
V. 1819–1830, 1832–1833

Hubbard, Henry
V. 1821–1834

Smith, Steadfast
V. 1821

Dehon, William
V. 1824–1831, 1844–1846, 1852

Tudor, Joseph
V. 1824

Deblois, Stephen
J. W. 1825–1827, 1829–1832

Parker, Samuel D.
V. 1825, 1828
S. W. 1826–1827

Parker, Samuel H.
V. 1827, 1829–1851, 1864
S. W. 1852–1863

Sohier, William D.
V. 1827–1833, 1836–1852

Tilden, Joseph
V. 1827–1832, 1849
T. 1829
S. W. 1834–1835

Hubbard, Joseph
V. 1828

Robbins, Edward H., Jr.
S. W. 1828
V. 1829–1849

Dexter, George M.
T. 1830
J. W. 1833–1846, 1852–1863
V. 1851
S. W. 1864–1872

Dexter, Thomas A.
C. & T. 1831–1846

Gardiner, William H.
V. 1831–1850

Brimmer, Martin
V. 1833, 1839–1840

Greene, Benjamin D.
V. 1833, 1836–1838

Prescott, William H.
V. 1833–1836

Rowe, Joseph
V. 1833–1834

Codman, Charles R.
V. 1834–1838, 1851
S. W. 1839–1850

Cunningham, Joseph L.
V. 1834–1841

Tudor, Frederic
V. 1834–1850
S. W. 1851

Winthrop, Robert C.
V. 1834–1843, 1846–1894

Amory, William
V. 1836–1838

Wainwright, Peter
V. 1837, 1844–1847

Amory, Thomas C.
V. 1839–1842

Lyman, Theodore
V. 1839, 1843, 1848–1849

Pickering, John
V. 1839, 1844–1846

Amory, James S.
V. 1840–1843

Mason, Jonathan
V. 1840–1842

Blake, Edward
V. 1841–1843, 1851–1855, 1860–1870

Greene, J. S. Copley
V. 1842–1843

Chamberlain, Daniel
V. 1843, 1847

Shattuck, George C., Jr.
V. 1843–1847

Cotting, Amos
V. 1844–1851

Stimpson, Frederick H.
V. 1844–1852

Burroughs, Henry
C. & T. 1846–1849

Barry, M. Olcott
V. 1847–1851

Parker, William
J. W. 1847–1851
C. & T. 1850–1852

Eaton, William S.
V. 1848–1852

Boyden, Dwight
V. 1850–1852

Chickering, Jonas
V. 1850–1853

Cunningham, Charles
V. 1850–1851

Richardson, Benjamin P.
V. 1851–1870

Clark, Benjamin C.
V. 1852–1862

Clark, John
V. 1852–1866

Henshaw, Charles
V. 1852–1864

Jeffries, John
V. 1852–1860

Lee, James, Jr.
C. 1852–1862
V. 1851–1864
T. 1853–1862

Welles, Benjamin
V. 1852

Wightman, Joseph M.
V. 1852–1865

Andrews, Charles L.
V. 1854–1859

Chickering, C. Francis
V. 1855–1857

Parker, Charles H.
V. 1855–1863
J. W. 1864–1872
S. W. 1873–1904

Chickering, Thomas E.
V. 1858–1860

Amory, Thomas C.
V. 1860–1888

Chickering, George H.
V. 1861

Fenno, John Brooks
V. 1861–1883

Gardiner, William H.
V. 1862

Gardner, Henry J.
V. 1862–1864

TRINITY CHURCH

Appleton, Charles H.
V. 1863–1870

Cushing, John G.
V. 1863–1871

Ropes, John C.
C. & T. 1863–1869
V. 1866–1900

Butler, John H.
V. 1865–1878

Codman, John
V. 1865–1879

Deblois, Stephen G.
V. 1865–1888
C. & T. 1869–1888

Dorr, E. Ritchie
V. 1865–1873

Codman, Charles R.*
V. 1867–1872
J. W. 1873–1904
S. W. 1904–1917

Eaton, William S.
V. 1871–1902

Morrill, Charles J.
V. 1871–1893

Nourse, Benjamin F.
V. 1871–1893

Cushing, Robert M.
V. 1872–1873, 1880–1890, 1894–1906

Peters, Edward D.
V. 1873–1882

Amory, William, Jr.
V. 1874–1882

Paine, Robert Treat
V. 1874–1903
J. W. 1904–1910

Eliot, Samuel
V. 1879–1885

Amory, James S.
V. 1883

Gardner, George A.
V. 1883–1884

Cochrane, Alexander
V. 1884–1918

Fenno, Edward N.
V. 1884–1929

Spaulding, Mahlon D.
V. 1885–1888

Blake, William P.
V. 1886–1916

Sears, Francis B.
V., C. & T. 1888–1914

Amory, Harcourt
V. 1889–1910, 1921–1922
J. W. 1911–1920

Dexter, Charles W.
V. 1889–1891

Dexter, Frederic
V. 1891–1894

Lawrence, Amory A.
V. 1892–1912

Brooks, William G.
V. 1893–1912

Kuhn, Hamilton
V. 1893–1899

Brimmer, Martin
V. 1895

Whitman, Henry
V. 1896–1901

Amory, Robert
V. 1899–1910

* Son of Charles R. Codman noted above.

Merriam, Frank
V. 1900–1924

Parkinson, John
V. 1902–1915

Kellen, William V.
V. 1903–

Crafts, James M.
V. 1904–1913

Hutchins, Edward W.
V. 1907–1916
S. W. 1917–1929

Paine, Robert Treat*
V. 1911–1921
C. & T. 1914–1920
J. W. 1921–1929
S. W. 1929–

Clark, B. Preston
V. 1912, 1914–1918

Lincoln, William H.
V. 1913–1925

Lyman, George H.
1913–

Mason, Charles E.
V. 1914–
T. 1920–

Everett, Henry C.
V. 1916–

Cummings, Charles K.
V. 1917–

Loring, William C.
V. 1917–1930

Whiteside, Alexander
V. 1917–1929
C. 1920–1927
J. W. 1929–

Coolidge, Charles A.
V. 1918–

Mixter, William Jason
V. 1919–

Parker, J. Harleston
V. 1923–1930

Brackett, Jeffrey R.
V. 1924–
C. 1927–

Selfridge, George S.
V. 1926–1929

Hutchins, Edward
V. 1929–

Reynolds, Robert D.
V. 1929–1932

Barbour, Thomas
V. 1930–

Huntington, James L.
V. 1930–

Morton, Marcus
V. 1930–

Curtis, Laurence
V. 1932–

* Son of Robert Treat Paine noted above.

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